READ PERSPECTIVES

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– Ann Goldberg

The Cost of Bilingual Education: Updating a National Study
– Terry Graham

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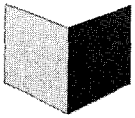

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- "A Review of the U. S. GAO Study on Limited-English Students"—Rosalie Pedalino Porter
- "A Critique of California's Evaluation of Programs for Students of Limited-English Proficiency"—Robert E. Rossier
- "Toward an Understanding of Effective Instructional Practices for Language Minority Students: Findings from a Naturalistic Research Study"—Russell Gersten, Thomas J. Keating, and Susan Unok Brengelman

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INTRODUCTION

The varieties of ethnic groups and the numbers of immigrants in the U.S. population change from year to year. It makes good sense, if we are to be in touch with the priorities and aspirations of these our newest Americans, to "take the pulse" of immigrant parents regularly, to find out what they want for their children's education. A widely circulated *National Survey of Hispanic Parents* was published in September 1996 by the Center for Equal Opportunity in Washington, DC. *READ Perspectives*, by permission of the Center for Equal Opportunity, reprints the complete Executive Summary of the survey, including the 22-item Questionnaire and a breakdown (by percentage points and by actual count) of the responses elicited.

Six hundred interviews were conducted, in English or Spanish, in five major U.S. cities. Two major conclusions are reported: that an overwhelming priority of Hispanic parents is their children's learning to read and write English before Spanish (63 percent vs. 17 percent), and that limited-English students should be taught their school subjects in English rather than in Spanish (81 percent vs. 12 percent). These attitudes were expressed almost universally, as stated in the Executive Summary:

> The greater priority placed on learning English versus learning Spanish occurred consistently across all major subgroupings of the sample population. All were more likely to rank learning English as a more important goal than learning Spanish: respondents in all five metropolitan areas, regardless of ethnic background; regardless of educational level; regardless of whether they currently, formerly, or never have had a child in a language program. Females were slightly more likely to prefer English than were males. (National Survey, 5)

In the best of all possible worlds, educators and policy-makers would take such information as is reported in the National Survey into account when planning programs for limited-English students, over 60 percent of whom are from Spanish-speaking homes. *READ Perspectives* will continue to publish new information as it becomes available, in the cherished hope that it bolsters the case of those citizens who are working to promote improved schooling for Hispanic students.

READ Perspectives was privileged to review a copy of Professor Charles L. Glenn's new book, *Language Minority Children in School: A Comparative Study of Twelve Nations* (Garland Publications, New York, 1996). We highly recom-

mend this impressive, 2-volume study of language and education policies and practices in twelve countries, including the United States. Glenn, a member of the READ Institute Academic Panel, is an internationally renowned expert in the education of language minority populations. Garland Publications gave permission for an excerpt from Chapter 5, "The Languages of Immigrants," to be reprinted in this issue of *READ Perspectives.*

Glenn reveals the wide variety of opinions and attitudes on the importance to immigrants of maintaining their original language and culture and of seeing them perpetuated in their children and grandchildren. Strikingly different, sometimes contradictory, attitudes are reported in different communities and countries. Often the same group will express a strong attitude that is not followed through with actions. For example, in two surveys of Mexican-Americans in California, 75–85 percent said it was very important to preserve the Spanish language for their children and that their children should speak Spanish well, but in their daily lives they did not consistently speak only Spanish at home, in order to promote this goal. (Skerry, cited in Glenn, p. 195)

The factors that lead to the abandonment or the maintenance of immigrant languages are described in detail, drawing on a rich assortment of examples from several countries. It is well known that immigrant families in the U.S. typically follow this pattern of language shift: within two to three generations at most, the original language has been entirely replaced by English, for social and economic reasons. Spanish is the exception in states where established communities continue to receive large numbers of new immigrants (Florida, California, New York) and where institutions support the language (newspapers, shops, churches). It appears that the "rate of anglicization" is declining in California, making it easier for Hispanics to continue the use of Spanish as their primary language. Certainly this statement by Miami Mayor Ferre in 1983 foresees no rapid shift to English in that city:

> You can be born here in a Cuban hospital, be baptized by a Cuban priest, buy all your food from a Cuban grocer, take your insurance from a Cuban bank. You can get all the news in Spanish.... You can go through life without having to speak English at all. (Glenn, p. 198)

Glenn concludes from his research that a strong interest in ethnic language maintenance may be more typical of those who have been successful in "making it" in the host country than of those who are on the bottom rung of the ladder of opportunity. Leaders of Mexican-American and Puerto Rican groups in the U.S. overwhelmingly support bilingual education as a means of maintaining the use of Spanish, which they describe as a fundamental "right," yet

very few native-born members of these groups use the language consistently in their homes, which is the only way a minority language is maintained. (Glenn, p. 211)

These major conclusions that apply in most countries may be fairly drawn from the wealth of information in this section: as a rule, people will not keep up two languages indefinitely when one language serves their needs; people will maintain valued elements of culture (religion, festivals, foods) from one generation to the next, even as they give up the use of a language that separates them more sharply than do private cultural traditions from the mainstream of the host country; and most researchers doubt that the maintenance of proficient, stable bilingualism is achievable. Glenn's work is thorough, responsible, and written with style.

The *READ Perspectives* editorial staff made a policy decision to publish updates on earlier reports when new data become available that would make a useful contribution to the literature. With this in mind, we attempted to secure follow-up data on the New York City Public Schools longitudinal study published in October 1994, hoping to obtain another two years' test scores on limited-English student achievement. (A review of the New York study by Barbara Mujica was published in the fall 1995 issue of *READ Perspectives.*) Calls to administrative offices of the New York City Public Schools, and finally to the school board, seem to indicate either that data is not being collected, that it is not being analyzed, or that it is not going to be reported to the public. For now we can only guess, but *READ* will pursue this project again in the future.

Consistent with our policy, we commissioned an update by Program Coordinator Ann Goldberg on the Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, Area School District English Acquisition Program, now that it has completed three full years in operation, to begin ascertaining what progress is being made by Bethlehem's limited-English students. The new Bethlehem program was fully described in the fall 1995 *READ Perspectives.* The school district's Internal Evaluation Team generated a list of questions to measure the degrees of student progress, all of which lead back to the basic question: Is the English Acquisition Program producing English language fluency in the shortest amount of time so that students have the best opportunity for success in school?

Bethlehem's professional staff is to be highly commended for its openness in reporting strengths and weaknesses in the program and the continuing need for additional improvements. These important results are reported, and they will gladden the hearts of those who wish Bethlehem success in its new venture:

1. Of the limited-English students who have entered the new program and remained in the Bethlehem schools over the past three years, 24 percent have successfully "exited" from the English language program. *All* elementary school students are working, with varying degrees of support, in mainstream classrooms;
2. The grade point average of high school students who exited the English language program and are enrolled in academic track courses is 2.6 (out of 4.0), considered average to good;
3. Average standardized test scores in reading and math for elementary school limited-English students in grades 1-6 who have reached the advanced level of English are in the average percentile range (25 percent to 75 percent) which, in an urban district enrolling many children from families of poverty, is a fairly good performance.

Given the high rate of transiency of bilingual families, it is always difficult to maintain records when children may move several times in one school year. Since 1993 Bethlehem has instituted better data collection and record-keeping on each limited-English student's background and school performance. Hence they can report with accuracy that the district rate for "graduating" students from its new English Acquisition Program to mainstream classrooms stands at 24 percent in its first few years. This record of student achievement in acquiring fluency and literacy in English contrasts sharply with the exit rates reported in California, the state with the highest number of students in bilingual programs. For example, the twelve school districts in the vicinity of Anaheim, California, which enroll about 90,000 limited-English students, averaged an exit rate of 4 percent per year for 1993, 1994 and 1995 (H.G. Martin, "Bilingual education system rewarded for failure," May 1995 [unpublished ms.]) There are strong indications that Bethlehem's rate of successful program exit for English language learners will gradually improve. *READ* will report again in 1998.

To protect Bethlehem from some unnecessary criticism about their program evaluation, a "disclaimer" is stated here. The READ Institute and the Bethlehem school administrators do not pretend to be reporting on a classic education research study. The current essay is a qualitative, descriptive report on the development of the English Acquisition Program, the details of its operation, and the achievement of its students, not a comparison of two programs with random assignment of subjects. The READ Institute presents descriptive data on Bethlehem to show how a district can change from almost twenty years of mostly Spanish language instruction to an intensive English language immersion program from kindergarten through twelfth grade.

The final essay in the current volume is a brief review of the national cost of bilingual education based on the 1993–94 update published by the U.S. English Foundation. The original study, covering 1991–92, was reviewed fully by Marsha Youngblood in the spring 1995 issue of *READ Perspectives*. As we anticipated in the first article, the number of limited-English students in U.S. public schools continues to increase at a higher rate than the rest of the school population; most of these students (86 percent) are still concentrated in the same ten states; a much larger portion of funding goes to programs using native language instruction (63 percent) than to English language programs (27 percent), but funding for ESL programs has risen since the earlier report when the proportions were 60 percent to 20 percent. The cost of educating these students has risen from $10 billion to $12.6 billion in 1993–94 and is projected to rise to $15 billion in 1995 and to $18 billion in 1996, still with no reliable data on what outcomes in student achievement are connected to these expenditures. Of special interest to school administrators and legislators is the chart detailing spending on bilingual students and the numbers enrolled in different programs, state by state, as well as these figures can be determined.

Rosalie Pedalino Porter, Editor
READ Perspectives

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THE IMPORTANCE OF LEARNING ENGLISH: A NATIONAL SURVEY OF HISPANIC PARENTS

Michael La Velle*

This memo summarizes the results of a survey of Hispanic parents of school age children, conducted on behalf of the Center for Equal Opportunity, during July–August 1996. In all, 600 interviews were completed with Hispanic parents, each with one or more children currently in school (first grade through high school). Respondent selection occurred within five Metropolitan areas in which Hispanics are relatively heavily concentrated, viz., Los Angeles, New York, Miami, San Antonio and Houston. Questionnaires were administered via telephone, by professionally trained, bi-lingual interviewers calling from a central data collection facility located in San Diego, California.

The purpose of the survey was to document the experience of Hispanic parents with school programs designed for children needing help with English, and to ascertain Hispanic parents' attitudes regarding the goals and practices of such programs. Since, nationally, Hispanics account for the majority of the clientele of school programs for children needing help with English, the present study should be of more than academic interest. In fact, the results of the survey have clear and important implications from a social policy planning viewpoint.

In addition to the substantive questions on the survey related to the goals and practices of school programs for children needing help with English, respondents were also asked a series of socio-demographic background questions. This allows the sample to be segmented for analysis purposes. For example, variations in responses can be systematically analyzed for patterns of similarity or difference based on age, gender, educational level, ethnicity, geographical region, length of time in the U.S., language spoken, and so on.

The results of a survey of 600 randomly selected respondents is statistically accurate to within plus or minus 4.0 percent at the 95 percent confidence level.

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*MICHAEL LA VELLE is the President of Diversified Research Inc., a company commissioned by the Center for Equal Opportunity to analyze the results of a national survey conducted by Market Development Inc. Reprinted by permission.

Table 1
Percentage of Hispanic Parents Ranking each Goal

	Most Important	Second Most Important
Learning to read, write, and speak English	51.0%	18.8%
Learning academic subjects like math, history, science	23.3	30.7
Learning to read, write, and speak Spanish	11.0	25.5
Learning about Hispanic culture	4.3	8.5
Learning extras like music, arts, and sports	3.7	8.8

This means that 95 times out of 100, the results will fall within a range of plus or minus 4.0 percentage points of the results one would obtain from interviewing the entire population from which the sample was drawn.

SUMMARY OF RESULTS

Respondents were read, in random order, a list of five educational goals and asked to rank them by indicating which they considered to be *most* important, which *second most* important, and so on. The five educational goals are listed in Table 1 in order of importance, as ranked by Hispanic parents.

As Table 1 shows, the majority of Hispanic parents (51.0 percent) considered *learning to read, write and speak English* to be most important among the five educational goals presented. Learning English was judged to be much more important than *learning other academic subjects, including math, history and science* (23.3 percent). This, in and of itself, attests to the importance Hispanic parents place on learning English. Perhaps most telling, however, is the relative importance of learning English versus learning Spanish. Only 11.0 percent of all respondents designated *learning to read, write and speak Spanish* as the most important goal, distantly followed by only 4.3 percent who think the top priority should be *learning about Hispanic culture.*

The greater priority placed on learning English versus learning Spanish occurred consistently across all major subgroupings of the sample population. Respondents in all five Metropolitan areas, regardless of ethnic background (Mexican, Cuban in particular, Puerto Rican, etc.), regardless of educational level, regardless of whether they currently, formerly or never have had a child

in a language program, females slightly more so than males, *all* were more likely to rank learning English as a more important goal than learning Spanish.

Since all interviewers were bi-lingual, respondents had the option of being interviewed in either English or Spanish. Interestingly, those interviewed in Spanish were actually more likely to rank learning English as most important (52.2 percent) than those interviewed in English (45.1 percent). This does not mean, however, that those interviewed in English were more likely to think that learning Spanish should be the top priority. In fact, only 4.9 percent of those interviewed in English ranked learning Spanish as the most important goal. Those interviewed in English were found to be relatively likely to place great importance on *learning other academic subjects like math, history and science* (44.1 percent of those interviewed in English ranked this as the most important goal).

The relatively higher rankings attached to learning English versus learning Spanish provide strong evidence regarding the educational priorities of Hispanic parents. Another question on the survey addressed the issue not in terms of which is more important, but rather which should come first. The exact question wording can be seen in Table 2.

Once again, the results are clear cut. Hispanic parents are decisively more likely to prefer that their children be taught English as soon as possible, rather than postponing English instruction while they are being taught Spanish. While there are variations in intensity, the pattern is broadbased, with all subgroupings of the sample in agreement on this issue. For example, among those interviewed in English, 81.4 percent favor English as soon as possible. Among those interviewed in Spanish, a smaller but still significant majority

Table 2
Preference for English or Spanish as Priority

In your opinion, should children of Hispanic background, living in the United States, be taught to read and write Spanish before they are taught English, or should they be taught English as soon as possible?

	Percent
Spanish before English	16.7
English as soon as possible	63.0
Same time (volunteered)	17.3
Not sure	3.0

(59.2 percent) choose this option (only 18.3 percent of those interviewed in Spanish would prefer that children learn Spanish first).

Intensity on this issue varies directly with educational level. The higher the educational level of the respondent, the more likely they are to prefer that English be taught as soon as possible. A similar pattern prevails with respect to the length of time respondents have lived in the United States. The longer they have been here, the more likely they are to favor English as soon as possible. Cuban-Hispanics are especially adamant on this issue (70 percent want English as soon as possible).

A final question, as seen in Table 3, addressed the issue of how language instruction should interface with academic course instruction.

Table 3
Language/Academic Courses Interface

In general, which of the following comes closest to your opinion?	Percent
1. My child should be taught his/her academic courses in Spanish, even if it means s/he will spend less time learning English	12.2%
2. My child should be taught his/her academic courses in English, because s/he will spend more time learning English	81.3
3. Unsure	6.5

The overwhelming majority of Hispanic parents want their children's academic courses to be taught in English. This is true among all sub-categories of the sample. Groups whose members are relatively most likely to insist on English include Cubans, in general, those in the United States the longest and those with the highest levels of education. Most interestingly, 82.0 percent of those with a child currently in a school program for children needing help with English would prefer that their children be taught in English.

In summary, this survey of Hispanic parents unequivocally shows that Hispanic parents place a higher priority on their children learning English over learning Spanish; that they want their children to learn English first, that is,

before they are taught to read, write and speak Spanish, and to reinforce their children's English skills; that their children be taught their academic courses in English rather than in Spanish. Furthermore, these finding are broadbased—all subgroupings of the sample population share these opinions.

This having been said, the findings of this survey do not in any way suggest that Hispanic parents do not want their children to learn Spanish. It only addresses the perceived relative importance of English versus Spanish, with English being considered the more important life skill for Hispanic children living in the United States.

The implications of these findings from a social policy planning viewpoint should be obvious. Hispanic parents may want their children to learn Spanish language skills, and to learn about Spanish culture, but they certainly do not want this to occur at the expense of, or before they learn to read, write and speak English. School programs whose purpose is to provide Hispanic children with help in English should be designed with the findings of this study in mind.

APPENDIX 1

Questionnaire

Q1. How many school age (first grade through high school) children do you have, who are living at home?

One	38.7%	232
Two	36.5%	219
Three	17.2%	103
Four or more	7.7%	46
Total responses		600

Q2. Would you prefer that this interview be conducted in English or Spanish?

English	17.0%	102
Spanish	83.0%	498
Total responses		600

Q3. Is your child (are any of your children) currently in, or ever been in, a program in school for children who need help with English?

Currently in	8.3%	50
In past/not now	7.2%	43
Never been in	81.5%	489
Don't know	3.0%	18
Total responses		600

Q4. Was your child (were any of your children) ever asked to be in such a program?

Yes	12.0%	61
No	80.1%	406
Don't know	7.9%	40
Total responses		507

Q5. In what grade is your oldest child who is currently in such a program?

First	10.0%	5
Second	12.0%	6
Third	8.0%	4
Fourth	8.0%	4
Fifth	10.0%	5
Sixth	10.0%	5
Seventh	8.0%	4
Eighth	4.0%	2
Ninth	8.0%	4
Tenth	16.0%	8
Eleventh	2.0%	1
Twelfth	2.0%	1
Refused to answer	2.0%	1
Total responses		50

Q6. How many years ago was your child last in such a program?

One	37.2%	16
Two	11.6%	5
Three	9.3%	4
Four	9.3%	4
Five	9.3%	4
Six or more	18.6%	8
Don't know/ refused to answer	4.7%	2
Total responses		43

Q7. How many years has your child been in (was your child in) the program?

One	30.1%	28
Two	22.6%	21
Three	21.5%	20
Four	9.7%	9
Five	5.4%	5
Six or more	4.3%	4
Refused to answer	6.5%	6
Total responses		93

Q8. Was your child in the program a boy or a girl?

Boy	52.7%	49
Girl	47.3%	44
Total responses		93

Q9. Was your child in the program born in the United States?

Yes	45.2%	42
No	54.8%	51
Total responses		93

Q10. At what age did your child come to the United States?

One	13.7%	7
Two	3.9%	2
Three	11.8%	6
Four	2.0%	1
Five	2.0%	1
Six	11.8%	6
Seven	9.8%	5
Eight	5.9%	3
Nine	7.8%	4
Ten	3.9%	2
Eleven	2.0%	1
Twelve	3.9%	2
Thirteen	7.8%	4
Fourteen	5.9%	3
Fifteen	5.9%	3
Sixteen	2.0%	1
Total responses		51

Q11. When your child first entered the program, did he or she speak English?

Yes	12.9%	12
No	79.6%	74
Some	7.5%	7
Total responses		93

Q12. While in the program, how many of your child's lessons were taught in Spanish? Would you say most of the lessons were in Spanish, about half the lessons were in Spanish, only a small part of the lessons were in Spanish or none of the lessons were in Spanish?

Most in Spanish	26.9%	25
About half	29.0%	27
Small part	22.6%	21
No Spanish	9.7%	9
Don't know/refused	11.8%	11
Total responses		93

Q13. Please rank the following things children might learn in school in order of importance:

"Learning to read, write and speak English"		
(1) Most	51.0%	306
(2) Second	18.8%	113
(3) Third	7.0%	42
(4) Fourth	6.0%	36
(5) Least	9.2%	55
Don't know/refused	8.0%	48
Total responses		600
"Learning to read, write, and speak Spanish"		
(1) Most	11.0%	66
(2) Second	25.5%	153
(3) Third	21.8%	131
(4) Fourth	16.8%	101
(5) Least	15.7%	94
Don't know/refused	9.2%	55
Total responses		600
"Learning academic subjects, like math, history, science"		
(1) Most	23.3%	140
(2) Second	30.7%	184
(3) Third	25.0%	150
(4) Fourth	10.0%	60
(5) Least	3.2%	19
Don't know/refused	7.8%	47
Total responses		600
"Learning about Hispanic culture"		
(1) Most	4.3%	26
(2) Second	8.5%	51
(3) Third	19.7%	118
(4) Fourth	36.8%	221
(5) Least	22.2%	133
Don't know/refused	8.5%	51
Total responses		600
"Learning extras like music, art, and sports"		
(1) Most	3.7%	22
(2) Second	8.8%	53
(3) Third	18.5%	111
(4) Fourth	21.2%	127
(5) Least	39.8%	239
Don't know/refused	8.0%	48
Total responses		600

Q14. In your opinion, should children of Hispanic background, living in the United States, be taught to read and write Spanish before they are taught English, or should they be taught English as soon as possible?

Spanish before English	16.7%	100
English soon/possible	63.0%	378
Same time	17.3%	104
Don't know/refused	3.0%	18
Total responses		600

Q15. In general, which of the following comes closest to your opinion?

1. My child should be taught his/her academic courses in Spanish, even if it means he/she will spend less time learning English

2. My child should be taught his/her academic courses in English, because he/she will spend more time learning English

Spanish	12.2%	73
English	81.3%	488
Don't know/refused	6.5%	39
Total responses		600

Q16. How many years of formal education have you had?

Some grade school	10.3%	62
Finished grade school	12.5%	75
Some high school	22.8%	137
Finished high school	21.8%	131
Commercial/tech	3.5%	21
Some college	11.8%	71
Finished college	12.5%	75
Graduate studies	3.0%	18
No school	1.0%	6
Refused to answer	0.7%	4
Total responses		600

Q17. What is your age?

18–25	3.5%	21
26–40	57.5%	345
41–54	31.5%	189
55–64	4.2%	25
65 or older	1.3%	8
Refused to answer	2.0%	12
Total responses		600

Q18. What is your origin of descent?

United States	11.0%	66
Mexico	47.8%	287
Cuba	8.3%	50
Puerto Rico	6.8%	41
Dominican Republic	4.2%	25
Spain	0.8%	5
Other Central America	10.5%	63
South America	9.3%	56
Other	0.3%	2
Refused to answer	0.8%	5
Total responses		600

Q19. How many years have you lived in the United States?

10 years or less	24.2%	145
11–20 years	31.3%	188
More than 20	22.2%	133
All my life	20.5%	123
Refused to answer	1.8%	11
Total responses		600

Q20. Gender:

Male	31.7%	190
Female	68.3%	410
Total responses		600

Q21. How well did respondent speak English?

(Interviewers' evaluation of language skills)

Very well	27.2%	163
Well	20.7%	124
Not well	35.5%	213
Not at all	16.7%	100
Total responses		600

Q22. Market:

Los Angeles	20.0%	120
Miami	20.0%	120
New York	20.0%	120
San Antonio	20.0%	120
Houston	20.0%	120
Total responses		600

THE LANGUAGES OF IMMIGRANTS*

Charles L. Glenn

To what extent do immigrant groups actively seek to maintain their languages? The question is hotly debated; evidence is mixed on how important immigrants *themselves* believe it is to their identity and psychological well-being, their valued relationships and hope of posterity, to maintain their original language and culture and to see them perpetuated in their children and grandchildren. Surveys often find that immigrant parents place considerable importance on their children continuing to speak the languages of their homelands, but do little to ensure such a result; many, like the parents of Richard Rodriguez, are primarily concerned to ensure, cost what it may, that their children not experience the difficulties that attended their own adjustment to life in the host society (Rodriguez, 1983).

THE PROSPECTS FOR IMMIGRANT LANGUAGES

It was very important to "preserve the Spanish language for their children," agreed 85 percent of Hispanic respondents in a California survey in 1983, and a 1987 national study found that 75 percent of Mexican American parents "said it was important that their children speak Spanish well" (Skerry, 1993, 286). On the other hand, the actual practices of these parents, as we will see, do not promote that result, nor do the children of immigrants in most cases make extensive use of the language of their parents. "The simple rule seems to be that people will not indefinitely maintain two languages where one will serve all their needs" (Edwards, 1988, 203).

Subsequent generations may feel a fair amount of guilt associated with the failure to become proficient in a language that they perceive emotionally as an important aspect of identity, even as they largely neglect its use. Portuguese youth in France, while reporting that they no longer used their home language much, expressed regret that they did not know it better (Munoz, 1987). All but two of the elementary school children from Senegal interviewed

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in another French study reported that they spoke only French with their parents; the two had been in the country for less than two years. One of the others reported that he could understand some Wolof from hearing his parents speak it with friends, but had virtually no ability to speak it (Platiel, 1989, 43). Another French study of Lao children found that Laotian was used only to talk with older family members, and that the children had difficulty mastering the complexities of polite address, thus "disorganizing the perception of relations between the generations." Most did not know the Laotian alphabet (Choron-Baix, 1989, 83).

In a study of Australian secondary school pupils, those whose parents spoke a language other than English reported their parents as mildly supportive of bilingual instruction in schools (Lewis, Rado & Foster, 1982). Immigrants from Germany were more likely than those from Macedonia (68 percent to 41 percent) to use English at home (Kalantzis, Cope & Slade, 1989, 169). Attitudes and practices vary among groups: 3 percent of Greek and 6 percent of Italian, contrasted with 44 percent of Dutch, first-generation Australians reported that they no longer used their original language at all (Smolicz, 1983, 333).

In the Netherlands, interviews with the children of Spanish immigrants found that all reported using mostly Dutch among themselves. A study of Turkish immigrant children found that, "in 12 out of 20 families, the children spoke mainly Dutch to each other, according to the parents; in four families alternately Dutch and Turkish, and in four other families primarily or only Turkish." Yugoslav children, according to another Dutch study, "lack motivation to use their mother tongue in communicating with Yugoslavian peers" (Appel, 1988, 68–69). An unusually careful study of the language proficiency of young Moroccans found that Dutch was their dominant language, and they had a good grasp of its grammatical structure, though not always a sufficient vocabulary to say what they intended to say; their ability to communicate in their "home" language (Berber or Moroccan Arabic) was "limited or poorly developed." It was inaccurate, the author suggested, to describe Dutch as their "second language;" it was rather their "language 1/2" that produced "a stagnation in the use and acquisition of their first language" (Ruiter, 1990, 16).

Most available data report the extent to which the children of immigrants have acquired proficiency in the language of the school and the host society, though of course this does not tell us whether they are fluent bilinguals or have become essentially monolingual in the majority language. German education officials estimated, in 1989, that about half of the children of immigrants could no longer be distinguished from German children with respect to language use; another 30 to 40 percent could use German reasonably well,

though with some limitations ("'Mit der Nadel,'" 1989, 74). Much the same pattern exists in Sweden where, in 1982, 41 percent of the foreign pupils in grades 1–9 had "the same command of Swedish as an average Swedish pupil," while 8 percent had a very low proficiency in Swedish. This second category, pupils with a low level of proficiency in Swedish, rose as high as 25 percent among Turkish-speaking, 39 percent among Chinese-speaking, and 23 percent among speakers of Assyrian and related languages, while these groups included only 16 percent, 7 percent, and 7 percent, respectively, of fully-proficient users of Swedish (*Immigrants and Immigrant Teaching*, 1983, 38).

Such evidence as exists does not support the long-term prospects of fluent bilingualism, except under special circumstances. Post-war Polish immigrants in the United States for ten years or more, and their children, were found to have "native-like skills in English, but have not kept up Polish" (Lambert and Taylor, 1988, 169).

> Asian immigrants appear consistently more inclined to shed their native tongue than [do] those from Latin America...[but] Spanish monolingualism does not outlast the first generation. The shift toward English is massive, with up to 96 percent of U.S.-born adults adopting it as their main or only language.... A minority of about 20 percent of U.S.-born Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, and Cubans continues to report use of Spanish as their preferred, though not exclusive language. (Portes & Rumbaut, 1990, 204)

Similarly, "Cypriot children born in the UK tended to be bilingual but often had little Greek. By 1968 Hylson-Smith claimed that many of the Greek Cypriots attending youth clubs...spoke almost no Greek. From a socio-anthropological study in the mid-1970s Constantinides (1977) also claimed that the second generation, in spite of parents' efforts, often spoke very little Greek" (Taylor, 1988, 55). "Visiting Ukrainian community centres and clubs, Khan (1976) noted that few adolescents of Ukrainian origin spoke really fluent Ukrainian and that dance classes, for example, were conducted in a mixture of English and Ukrainian, with English predominating" (Taylor, 1988, 319). Many second-generation youth do not even take advantage of chances provided in school to maintain their home language; less than 5 percent of the Turkish secondary students in Berlin, according to Fase, were taking Turkish rather than English as a foreign language (Fase, 1986, 113).

The most common pattern is for an "inter-language" to develop based upon the specific circumstances of the family, evolving toward an exclusive use of the language of the host society as more and more of the experiences of family members have taken place within that society. "Bilingualism is often a

transitional state" (Ruiz, 1995, 77). This evolution can be illustrated from the responses of South Asian youth in Bradford, in England: 6 percent reported speaking English with their grandparents, 11 percent with their mothers, 16 percent with their fathers, 54 percent with their sisters, 60 percent with their brothers, and 84 percent with their friends at school recess (Reid, 1988, 185).

In Australia, "some new immigrants move between domestic interchange in their first language and the use of the host country's dominant language to explain new institutions, technologies and social relations, rather than take on the forms of their language of origin which express and manipulate life in advanced industrial quarters in their place of origin" (Kalantzis, Cope & Slade, 1989, 26). This is reminiscent of the use of English in connection with manufacturing processes in Irish-speaking parts of Ireland.

The best data on retention or loss of the languages of immigrants is from the United States, where several large-scale studies have been carried out in recent years. Research on ethnicity within American society has stressed repeatedly the almost complete loss, by second-generation Americans, of the languages spoken by their immigrant ancestors. Interviews by Waters with sixty American Catholics from various white ethnic groups found that only four claimed to speak their ancestral languages; one had studied it in school, while three had used it with their parents but had become "rusty" since the parents' death and had not taught the language to their own children (Waters, 1990, 116).

> [T]he American experience is remarkable for its near mass extinction of non-English languages: In no other country...did the rate of mother tongue shift toward (English) monolingualism approach the rapidity of that found in the United States. Within the United States, some relatively isolated groups (such as the Old Spanish, the Navaho and [some] other American Indians, and the Louisiana French) have changed at a much slower rate; but language minority immigrants shifted to English at a rate far in excess of that obtained in all other countries.... Bilingualism, American style, has been unstable and transitional—at least until recently. (Portes & Rumbaut, 1990, 183)

Two academic supporters of bilingual education concede that "the United States is, at the societal level, staunchly monolingual. Legislating monolingualism as a requirement for citizenship could hardly have been more successful in creating a monolingual society than have been the unofficial economic and social forces at work." Among immigrant minority groups, "only the old folks, the very young, and the recent arrivals, in general, speak these other languages; the school children and young adults have often

switched to 'dominance' in English" (Snow & Hakuta, 1992, 385). Of the 270,000 Chinese Americans born in the United States, most speak English as their primary language; in 1970, less than 30,000 of those whose parents were also native-born spoke Chinese, indicating a massive shift to English (Wong, 1988, 210, 212). Filipino immigrants, already familiar with English in their homeland, make a rapid shift to exclusive use of the language on the mainland, though they may retain some use of Ilocano or Tagalog if they settle in Hawaii (Galang, 1988). This pattern of language shift among Asian immigrants in the United States is presumably related to the fact that their languages are less likely than is Spanish to have currency outside the home. On the other hand, Mexican American youth are more likely than are Asian youth to use English with their families (Baratz-Snowden & others, 1988, 38, 87). In other words, bilingual Asian youth appear to segregate the use of their two languages more sharply than do Mexican American youth.

The possible exception to the pattern of language shift is that of Spanish in the United States which, like Finnish in Sweden, is a "next door" language constantly reinforced by family and business connections with the homeland and by labor migration. Spanish is unique among immigrant languages in the United States in that "it is continually invigorated by these linguistically high-contact situations. Consequently, Spanish persists in the Hispanic population longer than other languages have remained with immigrant groups" (Arias, 1986, 42).

Some critics of immigration or of bilingual education have expressed concern that the number of Spanish-speakers may become so great that language shift—and thus assimilation—will become stalled with grave social and political consequences. They cite the example of Miami where, as then-Mayor Ferré boasted in 1983, "You can be born here in a Cuban hospital, be baptized by a Cuban priest, buy all your food from a Cuban grocer, take your insurance from a Cuban bank. You can get all the news in Spanish.... You can go through life without having to speak English at all" (quoted by Crawford, 1992, 91).

Often cited against this "another Quebec" hypothesis is the study by Calvin Veltman, who concluded that "approximately 70 percent of the youngest immigrants and 40 percent of those aged 10–14 at time of arrival will make English their usual, personal language. As a result, they will give birth to children of English, not Spanish, mother tongue" (Veltman, 1988, 45). Even in Miami, a 1985 survey of Cuban-American students at Miami-Dade Community College found that 86 percent preferred to use English with their friends (Crawford, 1992, 119). A study in Miami schools found that "only 17 percent

of students who have Spanish as their native language elect to take [the course in] Spanish for Spanish-speakers" (Benderson, 1986, 10). Under the influence of electronic media and of a more open job market for Hispanics,

> the rate of language shift to English has been accelerating over the past half-century. Less than 30 percent of the oldest age group made English their usual personal language when they were young, and only 60 percent spoke it on a regular basis. Nearly all native-born teenagers now speak English on a regular basis, and five in eight already have made a language transfer to the English language group. (Veltman, 1988, 49)

On the other hand, Veltman suggested, something like the fluent bilingualism that is generally a transitional phenomenon for immigrant populations could develop in parts of the United States. "There is no reason to believe that the rates of English monolingualism will increase over time.... In fact, it is possible that English monolingualism is undergoing some slight decline" as the use of Spanish receives a measure of support in school and society (Veltman, 1988, 49). This is a regional phenomenon in areas where a large number of recent immigrants continue to make Spanish a valuable asset, even for those who have come to use English as their primary language. As a result of the economic opportunities offered by such Spanish-medium markets, "many second- and third-generation Hispanics who haven't learned any Spanish at home, whose parents and siblings may have stopped speaking it themselves, learn it from life in the immigrant-impacted neighborhoods" (Fishman, 1992, 168). In parts of Los Angeles and Miami, "monolingual monopoly seems unlikely to return. Bilingualism is becoming institutionalized, a new way of living and doing business" (Crawford, 1992, 119).

What Veltman calls the "rate of anglicization may be undergoing a slow, long-term decline in California, presumably because the large influx of immigrants makes it easier for people to retain Spanish as their principal language of use" (Veltman, 1988, 56). This continuing use of Spanish in California, however, has not slowed the rate of shift to English as the primary language for individuals of Hispanic descent; while "in most areas of the United States approximately 70 percent of the native born currently are adopting English as their usual language," the rate is 85 percent in California (Veltman, 1988, 66). In brief, the continuing role of Spanish in American life seems likely to be as a second language for occasional use by those native-born Hispanics for whom it serves as a useful bridge to recent immigrants.

A study of Mexican-origin Americans based on data drawn from the Latino National Political Survey (1989–1990) found that this pattern prevails in the

Table 1
Home Languages of Mexicans in the United States, 1989–1990

Language Reportedly Spoken At Home (%)	Only English	Mostly English	Mostly Spanish	Only Spanish
Foreign-born	2.9	6.1	26.2	52.3
Two foreign-born parents	12.3	28.9	17.1	7.0
One foreign-born parent	21.9	41.1	13.4	1.8
Two native-born parents	42.2	29.8	1.2	1.6
At least one native-born grandparent	36.3	34.0	5.6	1.5

Source: De la Garza et al., 1994, 237; respondents who reported "both" left out.

homes of those born in the United States, and increases with subsequent generations.

It is notable that this study indicates a slight up-tick in reported use of Spanish in the third generation, as would be predicted by those studies suggesting that in many immigrant groups some members of the third generation take an interest in the cultural heritage which their parents neglected in their urgency to make a success of their participation in the host society. The third generation, to paraphrase Marcus Lee Hansen (1938), wishes to remember what the second generation wishes to forget!

Aside from a nostalgic interest in linguistic as well as genealogical roots—seldom extending to the hard work of actually mastering the ancestral language—the overall trend is clear: an ever-increasing reliance upon the language of the host society as the primary means of communication even within the home, that last refuge of potential cultural distinctiveness. Even among Puerto Ricans in the continental United States, with their frequent returns to the island, "communication in English is the norm for school age sisters and brothers" (Zentella, 1988, 151); Cuban Americans "use English widely among themselves and even in their Spanish-speaking homes" (García & Otheguy, 1988, 186). Analysis of data from the national *High School and Beyond* study on Mexican-American pupils who had been in bilingual programs documented a shift to primary use of English by the second year of high school (Olson, 1990).

After reviewing some of the forces that tend toward the abandonment of immigrant languages, however, we will consider those that make such languages

a continuing policy challenge and an important reality for at least some immigrants and their descendants.

Factors in the Abandonment of Immigrant Languages

The continuing significance of ethnicity into the third generation, and beyond for some, does not ordinarily translate into maintenance of the language associated with ethnic identity. The competition with the language of the host society is extremely uneven. "The two languages often represent different social networks and associated value systems, and the choice of language can come to symbolize an individual's identification with either system" (Hakuta, 1986, 233); since ethnic communities are usually a transitional phenomenon, it is not surprising that, over time, most of the second and third generations identify with the host society rather than with the sub-group, and thus come to use the language of the majority.

Despite occasional charges that immigrants are compelled to abandon their ancestral languages, there is ample evidence that most are eager to become sufficiently proficient in that of the host society so that they can function in it fully; "most groups are assimilationist in their attitudes," Edwards observes, adding that "pragmatism and the desire to make the painful act of immigration worthwhile have led inexorably to language shift" (J. Edwards, 1984, 292–293).

Consistent use in the home is of course the most important means of sustaining a language that is not used commonly in the wider society. Families can do much to maintain a minority language through making a point of using it without exception to communicate with their children. Evidence suggests that relatively few parents make this effort, unless they are themselves highly sensitive to language issues, even though they may articulate the intention of doing so. In one study, 99 percent of Korean-American parents said that they wanted their children to speak only Korean at home, but more than half of the Los Angeles sample also responded that they wanted their children to use only English at home (Kim, 1988, 268)! As this suggests, ambivalence is common and consistent practice, more the exception than the rule, even in situations as charged with feelings about language as that in Canada. In a survey of French-speakers in Ontario, "less than 50 percent responded that they mostly, or always, used French with their children. In spite of attending Francophone schools, some students of this background were not able to master standard French by grade 12" (Kalantzis, Cope & Slade, 1989, 38). That this shift occurred "in spite of parallel [i.e., French-using] institutions of church, school, recreation, etc." (Paulston, 1992, 58) illustrates how powerfully the general societal ambience influences language shift.

Research by Cummins and others in western Canada found that "francophone students who speak French at home and whose school program is 80 percent French (kindergarten through the sixth grade) still preferred to use English with friends outside the classroom...and rated themselves as being somewhat more comfortable in English than in French" (Lapkin & Cummins, 1984, 74). Anxiety about the gradual loss of French in Canada despite the language-maintenance efforts of school programs, because of the omnipresence of media and other influences encouraging use of English, is thus not unjustified, especially outside of Quebec.

Groups like the Finnish minority community in Sweden and the French-Canadians of Ontario may develop ethnic ambivalence, experienced by those who

> often feel hostile towards the majority culture because they know that members of the majority group regard them and their culture as inferior. For their children, this translates into an ambiguous message about the importance of the majority language and culture. Along with this, families in these groups tend not to encourage their children to maintain the home language nor to identify with the minority community's culture. (Teunissen, 1992, 102)

A 1973 study in Los Angeles found that, among third-generation Mexican-American women, 4 percent spoke only Spanish at home, and 84 percent only English. The transition to English among men was even more rapid (Portes & Rumbaut, 1990, 205). According to another study of language use in the Los Angeles area, the persistence of use of Spanish was largely a function of continuing replenishment of the Spanish-speaking population through legal and illegal immigration. Lopez concluded that "were it not for new arrivals from Mexico, Spanish would disappear from Los Angeles nearly as rapidly as most European immigrant languages vanished from cities in the East" (quoted by Connor, 1985, 21).

A 1979 national study of "cohorts of U.S.-born South-Central-East European ethnics" found a "plummeting level of childhood exposure to ethnic mother tongues. About three-quarters of the two older cohorts had such exposure in their childhood homes, compared to just 10 percent among persons born after 1960." A more recent study in the Albany, New York, area found that, of white ethnics born in the United States, nearly half had no knowledge at all of their ancestral language, "even in the restricted sense of occasional words and phrases in conversation" (Alba, 1990, 11). Alba found that

> about 17 percent of native-born whites reported that a non-English language was spoken in their childhood home.... But only 11 percent claim

> to speak a mother tongue now. Of those exposed to a mother tongue during childhood, just half can currently speak the language. (Alba, 1990, 93–95)

Of the total group interviewed in the Albany study, "only 5 percent said that they use a mother tongue in their daily lives." Half of this use was with their parents, and only one-quarter of the small group who use the ancestral language at all reported that they used it with their own children (Alba, 1990, 98). The data on home use of Spanish (Table 1) point in the same direction. *Children are unlikely to become fluent speakers of a language which their parents use rarely in the home.*

This is not to say that such families do not retain and transmit *other* elements of their heritage to their children, only that a minority language is unlikely to be maintained through school or supplemental programs unless it is sustained in the home and the community. After all, "the serious maintenance of traditional culture does not need bilingual programmes in schools but the material/structural basis for its reproduction" (Kalantzis, Cope & Slade, 1989, 55), and it is difficult to sustain the relevance of a minority language. Joshua Fishman observes that "the combination of relative linguistic inflexibility and relative ethnocultural flexibility finally results in the triumph of overall ethnocultural continuity experiences over ethnolinguistic discontinuity experiences" (Fishman, 1985, 340). In plainer terms, people maintain valued elements of culture from generation to generation even as they give up the use of a language that separates them more sharply than (essentially private) cultural traditions do from the mainstream of the host society. Nor is language change incompatible with an emphasis upon ethnic distinctiveness, as in the United Kingdom, where

> restaurateurs, waiters, hairdressers, etc., clearly have to learn English in order to function and communicate effectively, yet economically the Italian position is maintained by emphasizing and trading on their ethnicity. Ethnicity is encouraged at the same time as linguistic acculturation. (Taylor, 1988, 233)

It is interesting to compare the generalized survey response to the idea of language maintenance with the actual language practices of American ethnic groups. Fishman notes that the maintenance of ethnic language and culture "are both far greater at an attitudinal level than at an overt behavioral one" (Fishman, 1985, 340). Members of ethnic groups, in other words, claim to be more "ethnic" than their actions demonstrate. Lambert and Taylor's Polish-American respondents were supportive (5.77 on the 1 to 7 scale) of using Polish "for most or all speaking within the family," but in fact few did so.

Puerto Ricans were the most emphatic of the ethnic groups studied "in their endorsement of various steps that should be taken to maintain heritage *cultures* in America. They feel that their styles of foods, dress, songs and dances, as well as their own cultural values should be maintained." Curiously, though, they did not show support for the idea that such cultural elements could be maintained by community efforts; instead, they wanted the schools to do it. Puerto Rican history, they agreed, should be given equal emphasis with that of the United States (Lambert & Taylor, 1990, 91). The paradox is that it is Puerto Ricans, of all recently-arrived language-minority groups, whose culture has been most deeply influenced by that of the United States, in both its white majority and black minority forms.

Puerto Ricans on the mainland also had a contradictory response to the question of language maintenance. While on the one hand they responded that Spanish should be used in the home, and that it was the responsibility of the public school and not of the Puerto Rican community to ensure that children could speak Spanish, their responses on a question about what it would mean for their children to be bilingual or to speak only English indicated that the two options seemed equally preferable to the parents (Lambert & Taylor, 1990, 91–92).

The primary reason for the loss of an immigrant minority language is that, over time, it loses any function as all of the members of a family come to speak the language of the host society and, particularly, as the younger generation comes to prefer to use the majority language because of its association with attractive features of the life around them. Catherine Snow and Kenji Hakuta suggest that this process is not particularly mysterious: "Why do the children in such a family gravitate to English monolingualism? English, because it is the language of prestige and the majority culture; monolingualism, because for the child, as much as for the adult, maintaining two languages is harder than learning, maintaining, and using just one" (Snow & Hakuta, 1992, 388). A Moroccan family in the Netherlands will use three languages: (1) their Berber or Moroccan Arabic dialect for conversation between the parents and with their friends, to do errands in ethnic stores, and in ethnic community associations if they take part in any; (2) Dutch between the children and in school, at work, and for business with government agencies and in Dutch stores; and (3) Standard Arabic in the mosque and Koran school (Muysken & De Vries, 1982, 108; De Ruiter, 1990). There is no particular reason, given this distribution of language use, that the children would choose to use the dialect of their parents for other than simple household matters, nor would they, in time, use it with their own children.

Inevitably, the majority language will come to be associated with the glamour of modernity and the wide world outside the home, and the home language—though possessing lingering intimations of family warmth—will be associated with the disappointments and humiliations experienced by immigrant parents. A Catalan specialist on language recalls that, when he was a child,

> all movies were shown in Spanish (never in Catalan), and this created a social model so powerful that it was "impossible" to use any language but Spanish. We knew of course, even at that age, that "¡manos arriba!" ("stick 'em up!") could be rendered in Catalan as "mans enlaire!" But this knowledge was of no use. The Catalan expression had no "punch" in the situation created by the game.... my friends and I were able, from a very early age, to "play" Cowboys and Indians in Spanish without knowing any Spanish. In other words, thanks to movies about the Wild West, we were able to use a language that we did not yet know. (Artigal, 1991, 23)

Cypriot children in England "refuse to speak their mother tongue except when essential, demonstrating not only the dominance of their fluency in English, but also the value which they accord to English and by implication the values inherent in the language itself" (Taylor, 1988, 163).

Opportunities to maintain the language of the homeland may be limited, especially for the low-status immigrant with few opportunities to visit or to obtain books and periodicals from the homeland. Television and radio are likely to provide few opportunities to hear the language used in relation to a broad range of issues, and so it may come to function only in relation to domestic and religious matters and not to the other concerns of life in the new situation. Under such circumstances, "the role models of their home languages can change as parents incorporate words, structures and meanings from the mainstream language into their own" (Kalantzis, Cope & Slade, 1989, 31).

For those who are higher status and for whom the high culture of their homeland is important, language use may be maintained through deliberate efforts, though seldom at a native-like level (Ekstrand, 1979, 48), but such individuals also have more opportunity to participate actively in the host society if they adopt its language as their own. German ethnic leadership in the United States complained, in the 1930s, that the political refugees arriving from Germany "were interested in a rapid acculturation and hence tended to regard the use of the German language as a necessary evil during the transition period" (Luebke, 1978, 82). Though some 9 million residents of the United States had spoken German two decades earlier, the language was rapidly being lost as a result of lack of renewal through immigration; by the 1960s, there

were at most 50 thousand persons under 18 who used the language natively (Molesky, 1988, 42–43).

In general, the religious institutions and practices of ethnic communities have more staying power than their languages. Jewish immigrants to the United States, for example, quickly abandoned use of Yiddish without thereby assimilating fully into the host society;

> secular Yiddish schools, theaters, and newspapers have all but disappeared, while, by contrast, religiously and ethnically distinct Jewish institutions, from synagogues and yeshivas to summer camps and English-language publications, continue to thrive. It turns out that of the various components of a cultural legacy, language may well be the least durable. (Friedberg, 1988, 63)

An important factor in the abandonment of immigrant languages is the growing importance of educational qualifications for desirable employment in post-industrial economies. Well-paid assembly line jobs of the sort that immigrants have typically aspired to are less and less available. In Australia, it was reported in 1994, "migrants with an English-speaking background have lower unemployment rates than other migrants (9.9 and 14.2 percent respectively)" (Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, 1994, 65). The same process is at work in the United States, where "during the 1980s, the penalty for speaking English poorly or not at all increased for all immigrants" (Sorensen & Enchautegui, 1994, 155).

Continuing to use an immigrant language may also indicate rejection of the host society (and implicitly of its advanced economy), while conversely rapid language shift may be a sign of eagerness to do whatever is necessary to get ahead. The 19-year-old son of Moroccan immigrants to the Netherlands who had won a prize for a field study of changes in the village in which his parents had been born told a Dutch magazine that

> from the start I was determined on integration, on doing things with the others; I had lots of Dutch friends, belonged to a football team and so forth. That way I had learned Dutch within 6 months.... I did have one year of Arabic [in a school language-maintenance program] on Wednesday afternoons, but that wasn't my own language. At home we speak Berber. (*Samenwijs* 13, 2 October 1992, 60)

Ambition may be a powerful factor in language shift. "When a distinction is made between those language minority students in Sweden who prefer to use their home language ('active') and those who prefer to use Swedish ('pas-

sive home language'), the second group shows higher results on tests in their mandatory English course than does the first group, and also higher results than monolingual Swedish students!" (Balke-Aurell & Lindblad, 1983, 86). The varying rate of acquisition of—and use of—the language of the host society by various groups in turn contributes to different social and economic outcomes, as does their acquisition of English as a third language. The children of Chinese immigrants in the Netherlands, for example, are more interested in learning English than they are in learning Chinese (Vermeulen, 1984, 112), and the same phenomenon has been noted in France, where less than 14 thousand pupils choose to study Arabic, and a similar number Portuguese, in secondary education, contrasted with 4.7 million who choose English (Henry-Lorcerie, 1989, 79).

This is not to suggest that a simple choice exists between maintenance of full proficiency in the ancestral language and acquisition of full proficiency in that of the host society. Children of immigrant parents may have few opportunities to hear their parents use extended forms of the home language, since it does not serve as a vehicle for communication with the world outside the home, or to acquire the language of the host society as native children do, through using it in natural contexts (Salameh, 1988, 45–6); this is sometimes called "semilingualism," the condition of an inadequate proficiency in both languages spoken, with consequent limitation of higher-order intellectual skills. It should be noted that, whether such a condition results from confusion between the two languages, or simply from the non-standard language use characteristic of lower class persons in general, including those who are monolingual, is much debated (Ekstrand, 1978, 64, 75, 84; Paulston, 1982, 42), and will be discussed below.

There is reason to doubt that even a segregated school program that uses primarily the home language can in fact develop full native-like proficiency in a language that is not otherwise reinforced in the surrounding society and its media. A pupil in such a program could end up with a "school knowledge" only of the first language, and insufficient proficiency in the second. While the concept of "semilingualism, with its heavy emphasis on the necessity of developing mother-tongue skills, has often been a major factor in educational and political arguments for mother-tongue classes" (Hyltenstam & Arnberg, 497), such classes may in fact result in the very condition they are intended to prevent.

Most researchers doubt that the maintenance of proficient bilingualism is achievable, even when the home language enjoys high status and is the primary means of instruction (Lofgren, 1986, 12; Ekstrand, 1988, 18). "For

the conservation of minority languages," Johan Leman has written, "it is assumed that the social context outside the school, i.e., language homogeneity or heterogeneity, and social status of the minority language, will be largely determinative over the long run" (Leman, 1991, 132). Simply providing school instruction in the language, or even *through* the language, is unlikely to lead to its long-term maintenance absent social supports for its use.

A widely held view among French specialists on the immigrant experience is that the educational system has no solution to offer to the historically inevitable process of language transition. Recent efforts to revive French regional languages have had little impact, and there is no reason to believe that Arabic or Portuguese will continue to be spoken by the children and grandchildren of the immigrant generation. Like many other second-generation groups, young Portuguese in France prefer to use French in talking with their brothers and sisters, though 34 percent of them use Portuguese with their parents; Portugal is a place where they go for the summers, but only 24 percent would want to live there (Boumaza & Neves, 1994, 22). During the political conflicts that arose out of the *affaire des foulards*, the Muslim associations in Avignon resisted the demand of the most radical group, in the name of "cultural purity," that Arabic be used in lieu of French in their strategy discussions (Lapeyronnie, 1993, 332).

The likelihood is that, absent forced segregation and a brutal marginalization of an immigrant group, its original language will not be maintained effectively into the third generation, and its culture will evolve rapidly in the immigration situation, just as that culture, under the impact of modernization, is undoubtedly evolving in the homeland. Vestiges of language, and somewhat larger vestiges of cultural habit and observances, will be preserved by some but not all of the descendants of the immigrating generation. This is true even when an immigrant language becomes a "minority language" whose preservation has political resonance, unless—as with Catalan, Basque, and perhaps Welsh—the language is associated with and fortified by a territorial redoubt. Fishman concludes that "reliance on Spanish is weakening ideologically, attitudinally, and overtly at only a somewhat slower rate than have mother tongues among other ethnolinguistic minorities in the United States" (Fishman, 1985, 341).

Factors in the Maintenance of Immigrant Languages

Language as a means of communication and of acquiring information may have a simply functional significance, as when we listen to tapes or take a course at Berlitz in preparation for a trip to another country. The "national"

language alone would be needed and maintained if this were the only purpose of language use. But language can also have an evocative, an emotional, and even a powerfully symbolic meaning in many situations. This reality is acknowledged in the terms used by different educational systems for the languages which the children of immigrants may speak when they come to school: *Muttersprache* ("mother language") in Germany, *eigen taal* ("own language") in the Netherlands, *hemspråk* ("home speech") in Sweden, or *langue d'origine* ("language of origin") in France.

Fishman points out that

> [b]y its very nature language is the quintessential symbol.... All language stands in this very relation to the rest of reality: it refers to, it expresses, it evokes "something" in addition to itself.... Language is the recorder of paternity, the expresser of patrimony and the carrier of phenomenology. Any vehicle carrying such precious freight must come to be viewed as equally precious, as part of the freight, indeed, as precious in and of itself. The link between language and ethnicity is thus one of sanctity-by-association.... Anything can become symbolic of ethnicity (whether food, dress, shelter, land tenure, artifacts, work, patterns of worship), but since language is the prime symbol system to begin with and since it is commonly relied upon so heavily (even if not exclusively) to enact, celebrate and "call forth" all ethnic activity, the likelihood that it will be recognized and singled out as symbolic of ethnicity is great indeed. This likelihood is both increased and exploited when ethnicity is manipulated into ethnic consciousness since language is crucial for relaying the good word, the message, the call, and, as such—even without any linguistic features that make it unintelligible to others—it easily becomes "more than" a means of communication, even more than symbolic of the ethnic message; indeed, it becomes a prime ethnic value in and of itself. (Fishman, 1989, 32)

As a result of these associations, language has far more than merely communicative significance; it may have a symbolic function which leads parents to wish it to be taught to their children by others precisely *because* they themselves are incapable of developing it adequately in those children themselves. The clearest example of this is the language revival movements in provinces of several nations where an ancestral language has come to serve as a symbol of independence *vis à vis* the larger society and its centralizing and homogenizing tendencies, such as Catalonia and Wales. In such cases, a minority language can become a symbol of the resistance of the periphery to the center, a symbol all the more precious because it has few practical consequences or economic advantages.

Under circumstances of sufficient residential concentration and business enterprise, an immigrant community can also create a world in which many of its members do not find it necessary to use the majority language for their daily activities. In post-war London it was noted that the use of Greek and Turkish were perpetuated "because of the close knit Cypriot community which makes it unnecessary to use English in daily life since it is now possible to shop in Cypriot stores.... even in the mid-1970s Constantinides (1977) noted that second-generation Greek Cypriot adults often spoke to each other in a mixture of colloquial English and Cypriot Greek liberally sprinkled with Hellenized terms invented by first-generation Cypriots to describe aspects of the dressmaking and restaurant trades" (Taylor, 1988, 68). "Little Havana" in Miami is a similar case, where shoppers and professionals have continued to use Spanish as their primary means of communication for several decades. Six years after arrival in 1973, 45 percent of Cubans surveyed still had no knowledge of English and only 9 percent were fluent, but they had made substantial economic progress: one-fifth owned businesses and two-fifths owned their own homes. "Living and working in Spanish, many Cubans felt little urgency about learning English—much like the Germans, Norwegians, Greeks, and other groups before them, who for a time had succeeded in building insular communities" (Crawford, 1992, 95).

Development, by the immigrant generation itself, of proficiency in the language of the host society may depend in large part upon whether they work outside the home, and whether the work performed requires the use of language and provides constant opportunity for practice; thus a waiter in an Italian or a Chinese restaurant is likely to become more proficient in the societal language than is the cook. The concentration of immigrant workers in Germany in the heavy manufacturing and construction industries has undoubtedly retarded their linguistic integration, and thus indirectly their eligibility for German citizenship. The failure of many of the first generation to become proficient in the host language may have less to do with unwillingness than it does with the nature of the work opportunities available to them. Paulston points out that Mexican Indians did not learn Spanish until jobs became available for which the language was necessary; "without access to rewards, Spanish was not and is not salient" (Paulston, 1992, 20). Spokesmen for language-minority groups argue that "populations acquire new languages if and when they are admitted to new social roles requiring these languages rather than vice versa" (Fishman, 1989, 441). Of course, it can be difficult to be "admitted to new social roles" if those roles require proficiency in a language which one does not speak.

An immigrant minority language can also be maintained to some extent by

the deliberate efforts of an ethnic community that values its continued use. In New York City in the 1960s,

> people active in politics and the leaders of the Puerto Rican community expect that Spanish will be the major language in use in the community for as long ahead as anyone can see. As against the situation in some earlier immigrant groups, where dominant opinion in the city and in the group insisted on the need to learn English and relegate the immigrant tongue to a minority position, in the Puerto Rican group many leaders...expect and hope that Spanish will maintain a strong position in the group.... Spanish already has a much stronger official position in New York than either Italian or Yiddish ever had. (Glazer & Moynihan, 1963, 101)

This was attributed by some observers, not only to the back-and-forth movement between Puerto Rico and the mainland, but to a determination to continue the use of Spanish. "[T]he newer immigrants (their leaders, at least) are pressing for bilingualism clearly not for pragmatic reasons...but for reasons of the values they hold" (Glazer, 1983, 152). Similarly, in the western states, "as middle-income Mexicans reach even higher income levels they begin to look for, create, and support part-time or full-time schools to develop and retain Spanish among their children.... The favored income position [in California and New Mexico] was for bilinguals having English as the dominant and Spanish the subordinate language" (Macias, 1985, 302). Consistent with American studies suggesting that a strong interest in ethnic language may be more a characteristic of those who have been successful in "making it" in the host society than of those who are still struggling for a foothold (Alba, 1990, 73), French research found that highly educated, young Portuguese women placed a high value on maintaining the Portuguese language as a token of their identity, though in fact they usually spoke French, even with their Portuguese contemporaries at the university (Villanova, 1986).

> Acculturation signifies the ability to master the dominant cultural codes and is not necessarily synonymous with the dissolution of the heritage culture or with the loss of the specificities of the immigrant *milieu*.... To the contrary, success and acculturation, in facilitating mastery of the social environment, permit immigrants to maintain a living connection with their origins. (Dubet & Lapeyronnie, 1992, 91–92)

On the other hand, research in Quebec found that francophone university students "who were least fluent in English were those who felt their cultural identity to be most threatened" (Lambert & Taylor, 1990, 19).

Progressive intellectuals are of course not unique in having material and ideal interests in the separate schooling of linguistic minority pupils. For many

rank-and-file immigrants, especially those who experience discrimination and low-status employment, the language and culture of their homeland can come to enjoy increased significance as a means of retaining a sense of personal worth, even as the homeland itself recedes in time. The Spanish language is an important marker of identity for many Hispanic immigrants and their children, continuing to be significant even after connection with or even interest in their homeland has been lost. A study in the mid-1960s found that, "when asked to choose from a list of attributes those aspects of the Mexican heritage they would like to preserve in their children, only 5 percent of the respondents in Los Angeles and only 3 percent in San Antonio selected 'identity as Mexican'...[but]...51 percent in Los Angeles and 32 percent in San Antonio selected 'Spanish language'" (cited by Connor, 1985, 19).

It seems likely that the relatively strong maintenance of Spanish in the United States has a political as well as the sociological basis of continued new immigration and heavy concentration in certain areas. For Mexican Americans or Puerto Ricans who (encouraged by government and advocacy groups) have come to see themselves as members of an "Hispanic" minority group with claims upon the wider society based upon a history of victimization parallel to that of African Americans, the Spanish language is the primary basis for group identity. After all, culturally, and even racially, there are significant differences among Americans of Latin-American origin; what they have in common is a language, whether they actually speak it or not. But this common language functions as a symbol of group membership only to the extent that it is possible to believe that Puerto Ricans and Mexican Americans and Dominicans have also somehow been victimized in the same way by North American society as a function of their *hispanidad*. As Max Weber pointed out, even

> [c]ommunity of language...taken by itself is not sufficient to constitute a communal relationship. It is only with the emergence of a consciousness of difference from third persons who speak a different language that the fact that two persons speak the same language, and in that respect share a common situation, can lead them to a feeling of community and to modes of social organization consciously based on the sharing of the common language. (Weber, 1964, 138–139)

In a typical expression of such a political agenda for language maintenance, a left-of-center Greek Cypriot newspaper in London wrote, in 1959, that "the struggle for the Greek education of our community is one of a national nature, a struggle for the protection of our children against the danger of their anglicization that the conqueror of our suffering island so much desires" (Taylor, 1988, 79). Similarly, the leaders of the Polish workers in the Ruhr (where

they made up about a third of the labor force) around the turn of the century urged them to keep themselves apart in order to maintain the solidarity of the group, insisting that—though legally citizens of the German Reich—"no true Pole allows his children to become German" (Hansen, 1986, 47).

Of course, as in the case of those Polish children, identification with a minority tradition can be promoted in a way that prevents some who have not made that choice for themselves from participating freely in the broader society. In fact regulations were issued in 1899 by German authorities, making proficiency in German a prerequisite for all senior jobs (Esser & Korte, 1985, 167). Despite the impact upon such opportunities, ethnic leaders may go so far as to advise members of language minority groups not to learn the majority language, lest group bilingualism lead, over time, to loss of the minority language (Gaarder, cited by Paulston, 1992, 89), and the heavy-handed attempt to suppress the minority language may lead, as it did among the Poles in the Ruhr, to an increased sense of ethnic solidarity (Koekebakker, 1990, 45).

Lack of successful participation in the host society can, in turn, lead to a social position that does not encourage using the language required by such participation, in a vicious circle of marginalization and self-limitation. Under such circumstances, "the real and perceived barriers to socioeconomic attainment operate to discourage socioeconomic achievement, to reinforce the distinctiveness of the ethnic group, and to reaffirm and revitalize ethnic patterns and customs" (Bean & others, 1994, 77). This is one possible explanation for the lagging achievement in education and income of third-generation Mexican Americans in the United States, but it does not seem to be supported by the data on home language use (Table 1). Another possible explanation is that many native-born Mexican Americans have come to think of themselves as what Ogbu calls "involuntary minorities," on the analogy of African Americans, rather than as immigrants. Skerry suggests that "contemporary political institutions encourage many Mexican Americans to 'assimilate' precisely by defining themselves as an oppressed racial minority" (Skerry, 1993, 265). This sets up a very different psychological dynamic than that characteristic of immigrants.

> Involuntary minorities do not, unlike the immigrants, interpret the language and cultural differences they encounter in school and society as barriers they have to overcome. Rather, they interpret these differences as *symbols of identity to be maintained*.... The oppositional identity combines with the oppositional cultural frame of reference to make crossing cultural boundaries and engaging in cross-cultural learning more problematic for involuntary minorities than for the immigrants, since utilizing the cultural frame of reference of the dominant group is threatening

> to the minority identity and security as well as to their solidarity. (Ogbu, 1991, 15–16)

Bastenier, reversing Robert Merton's concept of "anticipatory socialization," describes a "preventative non-socialization" on the part of immigrants placed in an inferior social position and seeking "to preserve their initial socio-cultural capital (their original identity) that they intend eventually to use again" (Bastenier, 1986, 85).

Representations of the claims of Mexican Americans (and Puerto Ricans) in the political arena have been primarily on the basis of "a presumed moral trump: the group's claim as a victimized racial minority," and by professional advocates funded largely by foundation grants. The result may be a certain passivity on the part of members of the group (Skerry, 1993, 376). The logic of a rights-based strategy for social advancement is that neither personal effort nor grass-roots political mobilization is necessary; the claims are advanced instead by lawyers and publicists.

It is entirely consistent with such an attitude that the overwhelming majority of spokesmen for Mexican Americans and Puerto Ricans in the United States are strong supporters of bilingual education as a means of maintaining the use of Spanish, described as a fundamental right, and yet few native-born members of those groups use the language consistently in their homes, which is the only way that any minority language is in fact maintained. To the extent that Spanish continues in active use, it tends to be in dialectical forms such as *caló*, "the jargon of young male Chicanos, which changes rapidly and consists of lexical innovations (some of which reflect English influences) in the preexistent Spanish linguistic mold." It is reported that children who attempt to speak the standard Spanish they are taught in school may be mocked by their peers, thus limiting their motivation to acquire real proficiency (McLaughlin, 1985, 187).

Consistent use of a minority language helps to maintain group boundaries, and therefore can be one of the means by which a group may assert and maintain its distinctiveness in relation to other groups. In extreme cases, it may serve to identify the enemy; the Gileadites at the fords of the Jordan river knew whom to kill by the Ephraimite inability to pronounce "*shibboleth*" (*Judges* 12:6).

> National languages are protected by national boundaries. Where minority cultures are strong enough to protect their cultural boundaries (and, of course, interested in doing so), they produce the same defenses for their ethnocultural mother tongues. They separate populations into in-

> siders and outsiders and they define the cultural desiderata—including language—which are required for inside membership. Under such circumstances, even small minorities can attain intergenerational mother tongue continuity (viz. Old Order Amish); lacking them, even large ones cannot (viz. Spanish-Americans, German-Americans, Polish-Americans, Franco-Americans, etc.). (Fishman, 1985, 225)

This judgment of history has not prevented some ethnic activists from seeking to draw a boundary around their group and to maintain its cohesion by promoting the use of its distinctive language. The imposing challenge that such efforts face is to persuade individuals that participation in the group is more valuable than access to the opportunities offered by the wider society.

Under such circumstances, *individual bilingualism* can come to seem the enemy of group maintenance, since it is correctly perceived as a transitional phase leading over time to primary use of the language of the wider society and, in the following generation, to complete loss of the minority language. "Group bilingualism is frequently accompanied by language shift to the official language when there are ample, material rewards in so doing" (Paulston, 1992, 58). The same shift can occur even when the culturally subordinate language is "official," simply because the dominant language may seem more useful or attractive; this is why francophone language activists in Quebec are *not*, as one might expect, supporters of bilingualism, nor do the Dutch-speaking and French-speaking communities of Belgium encourage real bilingualism in the two primary languages of the nation.

> If circumstances are such that the majority language could dominate, and ultimately lead to language shift, then it is through the individual bilingualism of members of the minority that this threat will materialize. In circumstances where such a shift could happen, it is likely that it is in the *personal* interests of the individual to be bilingual, and this is where a tension begins to appear between group and individual. The group's need is to maintain a monolingual ethnic identity.... From the minority group viewpoint, however, the majority language threatens to take over functions additional to the economic ones and gradually eradicate the minority language. (Byram, 1991, 15–16)

The offer of public schools to give the children of immigrants the key to a wider society may seem to some parents and, perhaps even more, to ethnic activists as a poisoned apple. Nor has this function of popular schooling been less than explicit over the two hundred years of its active promotion by governments, as when John Dewey, in *Democracy and Education*, described "the office of the school environment" as the obligation "to see to it that each indi-

vidual gets an opportunity to escape from the limitations of the social group in which he was born, and to come into living contact with a broader environment" (see Glenn, 1988, for an historical account of this mission of popular schooling and resistance to it in France, the Netherlands, and the United States).

It would not be accurate to portray this as a conflict between group interests and individual interests, of course, since it is usually in the interest of individuals to belong to groups that function well, and it is certainly in the interest of groups that the individuals who belong to them prosper. There is, however, an unavoidable tension of interests around the question of the extent to which schooling will seek to present universal values and thus relativize and diminish those of particular groups, as there is around that of developing proficiency in the language of the wider society at the possible cost of losing use of the full range of an ethnic minority language. Sometimes the good intentions of those who seek to support ethnic distinctiveness may have effects which are as negative for members of minority groups as those achieved by the bad intentions of their oppressors.

Under normal circumstances, language is too diffuse a characteristic to make for group solidarity. When such solidarity exists for other reasons, the majority language may be used to express the identity and values of a minority ethnic group which has largely or entirely abandoned the use of its distinctive language. After all,

> no matter how all-embracing language is experienced to be as the vehicle or as the symbol of the total ethnocultural package ..., it is really only a part, and a detachable part at that, rather than the whole of that package. This is all the more so when, as in the case of the American ethnic revival, language ideologies and language movements *per se* are almost entirely lacking. (Fishman, 1989, 674)

Group maintenance (if that is desired) is thus by no means dependent upon continued use of the heritage language. Genesee cites Canadian research by Adiv that found that "native French-speaking Jewish Canadian children saw themselves as more similar to other Canadians who were Jewish but English-speaking than to French-speaking [non-Jewish] Canadians" (Genesee, 1987, 102). Lambert and Taylor found that Puerto Ricans and Mexican-Americans, though sharing the use of Spanish, felt no closer to each other than did either to other groups of Americans (Lambert & Taylor, 1988).

Similarly, "being an Italian-American has little to do with the Italian language or with most features of Italian culture. Rather, it has to do with a sense of

continuity with the past, of group loyalty, and of a similarity of emotional experience within the home which makes the individual look for self-assertion in the form of ethnic group belonging" (De Vos, 1982, 32). After all, "identity can proceed without language, as in ethnic music or customs, also in political and social organizations" (Brock and Tulasiewicz, 1985, 8). Connor suggests, indeed, that "language is far more important to group formation than to group maintenance": an ethnic group is one whose ancestors spoke the same language (Connor, 1985, 258).

A sustainable generalization, then, is that "language is...not inevitably associated or linked with culture nor relevant in every situation. Certain minorities may perceive their language to be a crucial characteristic of their culture and identity, and essential to knowledge and belief of their religion. In others it is not an essential attribute of ethnic or religious identity or group membership" (Saifullah Khan, 1980, 84). Or, as Paulston puts it drily in a study commissioned by the Swedish government, "contrary to popular belief, even among Swedish researchers, ethnicity is rarely sufficient for language maintenance, nor is language maintenance necessary for culture or ethnicity maintenance" (Paulston, 1982, 36).

Privileged Spheres of Minority Language Use

It is not the length of time that groups are in contact that determines whether the minority will adopt the language of the majority as the ordinary means of communication within the group, so much as the intentions of the minority and whether they possess established institutions through which they sustain their existence as a distinct group and which employ the minority language in a consistent way. Even under such conditions "communicative language shift may occur while leaving behind a symbolic value of importance" (Edwards, 1988, 205).

A group may maintain its distinctive culture and language while living in contact with those of a host society, but only through the most heroic measures of renunciation of many of the benefits that the majority society offers. "In the absence of a rather rigid and fargoing compartmentalization which is difficult to maintain (and, therefore, rare) in modern interactive life...such as is available, e.g., to Amish, Hasidic or traditional Islamic families (or other communities sheltered by distance, rurality or major philosophical-religious-ideological ramparts), what begins as the language of social and economic mobility ends, within three generations or so, as the language of the crib as well, even in democratic and pluralism-permitting contexts" (Fishman, 1988, 206).

Mart-Jan de Jong points out the futility of language and cultural maintenance programs which do not enjoy such support:

> Learning the official national language of the country of origin will not do much to contribute to the maintenance of the old values and norms. Neither can a knowledge of the geography of the country of origin or fragments of its history be expected to preserve its culture. When groups seek to preserve their own culture there is only one way available: to maintain an intensive group life and minimize contact with natives and with other foreigners.... An important factor is a strongly orthodox religious life. (Jong, 1987, 42)

After all, "stable societal bilingualism (diglossia) depends on institutionally protected functional sociolinguistic compartmentalization, so no ethnocultural collectivity can maintain two cultures on a stable basis past three generations if they are implemented in the same social functions (family, friendship, work, education, religion, etc.)" (Fishman, 1988, 193). In other words, most people maintain active use of a language only to the extent that they are essentially *monolingual* in that language in at least one essential dimension of their lives.

There are many examples, in the nations under review, of immigrant groups that maintain the use of their original language for various "private" functions such as family life and religious practice, but none in which the minority language is used as the primary vehicle of effective political participation, as in Catalonia or (to some degree) in Wales. Paulston recalls how she began research on the use of Catalan in Spain as a study in ethnic boundary maintenance, only to come to realize that it was an issue of Catalan nationalism with a territorial base and clear political claims, not one of ethnicity (Paulston, 1992, 133).

As Fishman has advised those concerned with the preservation of "endangered languages," "they must be intimately tied to a thousand intimate or small-scale network processes, processes too gratifying and rewarding to surrender even if they do not quite amount to the pursuit of the higher reaches of power and modernity" (Fishman, 1988, 399).

THE POLICY DEBATES OVER MINORITY LANGUAGES

Elsewhere, we considered briefly the principle expressed in the American Constitution, that distinctive understandings of the world should be allowed free exercise in the public sphere, but not established by government sponsorship. Attempts have sometimes been made to assert a body of "language

rights" parallel to the rights to free speech and free exercise of religion. It has been argued, for example, that

> separate religions can be self-sustaining and self-fulfilling if government does not favor one over another. For whatever reason, the [American] government presently favors one language, English, over all others and provides that language with massive support through public education and other means. Without even limited support for other languages, language rights cannot be protected.... Language rights, unlike religious rights, cannot be effectively protected by being left alone in an underdeveloped and culturally backward state while only one language is promoted vigorously. (Landry, 1983, 374–375)

Such arguments are historically and sociologically naive; the American government uses English because that is the language that the great majority of the American people have spoken at all stages of the nation's history. Publicly funded schools mostly use English for the same reason. Despite occasional flurries of linguistic xenophobia, public policy toward languages is far more pragmatic than it is ideological.

> From the days of the Pilgrim fathers American leaders have ideologized morality, opportunity, progress, and freedom. Ethnicity has been considered irrelevant.... The English language does not figure prominently in the scheme of values, loyalties, and traditions by which Americans define themselves as "American."...More linguistic and cultural treasures were buried and eroded due to mutual permissiveness and apathy than would ever have been the case had repression and opposition been attempted. (Fishman, 1970, 85)

There *is* an ideological case to be made for support for minority languages, but it has more to do with the idea of group rights—an idea which has little support in American constitutional law—than it does with individual freedoms. The closest analogy would be, not accommodation (*never* support) of religious organizations, but affirmative action for the benefit of those considered to have some group-based claim upon preferential treatment. Race, physical handicap and sex are (in most cases) immutable characteristics, of course, while most people are capable of changing the language that they use, so it has been necessary to add the premise that minority language is indissolubly linked (even for those capable of speaking the majority language) with an irreplaceable identity and worth.

The emphasis upon language as the primary marker of group identity is closely associated with the rise of the ideology of nationalism in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Until the rise of nationalism as a mobilizing

idea, indeed, "language was very rarely stressed as a fact upon which the prestige and power of a group depended." Thus, for example, "the Breton estates, which were very jealous of their independence [within France], nevertheless spoke French, and in the Act of Union for the Defense of the Liberties of Brittany of 1719 the Breton spokesmen did not mention language grievances" (Kohn, 1967, 7).

The idea that language is a distinctive and irreplaceable element of group identity was given definitive form by Johann Herder, who asserted in a school address published in 1764 that "every language has its definite national character, and therefore nature obliges us to learn only our native tongue, which is the most appropriate to our character, and which is most commensurate with our way of thought." The spirit and character of a people was, according to Herder, indissolubly linked with its own language, with obvious implications for the contemporary practice of providing schooling to German-speaking youth in Latin and in French.

> If language is the organ of our soul-forces, the medium of our innermost education, then we cannot be educated otherwise than in the language of our people and our country; a so-called French education in Germany must by necessity deform and misguide German minds. (quoted by Kohn, 1967, 433)

A further implication was that the idea then prevalent, in educated circles, that a universal culture could gradually, through popular enlightenment and universal schooling, be spread to wider and wider circles of the population, was fundamentally misguided. Schooling would have to be distinctively national, for "no individual, no country, no people, no history of a people, no state is like any other. Therefore the true, the beautiful, and the good are not the same for them" (quoted by Kohn, 1967, 433). This led Herder to oppose the efforts, by Habsburg ruler Joseph II, to unify the administration of his multi-national empire through the universal use of German for all educational and official purposes, "at a time when the Bohemians, Rumanians [sic], Croatians, and others had hardly any consciousness themselves of their nationality" (Kohn, 1967, 432). Herder asked, in 1783,

> Has a nationality anything dearer than the speech of its fathers? In its speech resides its whole thought domain, its tradition, history, religion and basis of life, all its heart and soul. To deprive a people of its speech is to deprive it of its one eternal good.... With language is created the heart of a people. (quoted by Fishman, 1989, 105)

Though usually expressed in less exalted language, this belief in an almost

mystical identification between a nation and its language has persisted. One of the most influential French thinkers of the mid-19th century, Ernest Renan, insisted that language, much more than "blood" (or, as we would say, genetic inheritance), created the great divisions of humanity; "the spirit of each people and its language are very closely connected: the spirit creates the language and the language in turn serves as formula and limit for the spirit." Or, as he said on another occasion, "a Musulman who knows French will never be a dangerous Musulman" since "fanaticism is impossible in French" (quoted by Todorov, 1993, 143, 146). Here we see an early expression of the French insistence upon the necessity—and the possibility—of transforming culturally alien persons through assimilation by French culture and language.

If language is inseparable from culture, to this way of thinking, so cultures are so fundamentally different as to be incommensurable. We can see one of the roots of the ideology of multiculturalism in the conviction expressed a hundred years ago by Gustave Le Bon, that "different races cannot feel, think, or act in the same manner, and...in consequence, they cannot comprehend one another" (quoted by Todorov, 1993, 55). For many present-day advocates of measures to preserve the use of minority languages, "the assumption is that language is the necessary support for a specific cultural identity" (Byram, 1990, 127), and that ethnic identity is an essential treasure to be handed on to successive generations through continued use of the heritage language. Its loss—even if the loss is voluntary on the part of individuals who do not choose to use the language of their parents—is a tragedy and evidence of oppression:

> To me monolingualism, both individual and societal, is not so much a linguistic phenomenon (even if it has to do with language). It is rather a question of a psychological state, backed up by political power. Monolingualism is a psychological island. It is an ideological cramp. It is an illness, a disease which should be eradicated as soon as possible, because it is dangerous for world peace. It is a reflection of *linguicism*. (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1988, 13)

But, of course, a belief in the necessary connection between a language and membership in a national community can lead to intolerance of other languages within the national sphere. To the extent that a common language functions as an expression of a common nationality, the status of minority languages is always liable to be called into question. Conflict over language policy (such as over the "Official English" movement in the United States) does not reflect xenophobia so much as it does conflicting ideas about what it means to be a full member of the society. Is societal membership appropriately mediated through associations and communities to which a primary

loyalty may be felt and which may communicate among themselves in a language incomprehensible to the wider society, or are such mediating structures inimical to national unity and the rights of individuals?

Ethnic groups and their institutions, some argue, are an important aspect of the civil society; they are mediating structures that may reduce the *anomie* attendant upon modernization and a mass society and perform an important function in the relation between individuals and the nation as a whole. To the extent that such groups depend upon the maintenance across generations of a distinctive language, compulsory schooling can be either a fundamental threat or a valuable support to their continuing existence, depending upon the policy that the school adopts toward the use of that language.

> Prolonged participation in the British education system is thought by parents to cause a loss of "Greek identity" as individual children conform to the values and behaviors of their school peers. Participation in the Greek-language schools is quite specifically designed to counteract some of the effects of State schooling. (Constantinides 1977, quoted by Taylor, 1988, 145)

There is a fundamental human right, by this logic, to preserve a language and cultural heritage; "the smallest and most insignificant language groups or individuals, like the largest and most powerful, have a right to exist and prosper regardless of any calculation of profit and loss" (Lewis, 1978, 680). But, of course, such statements, by equating groups with individuals, avoid the question of whether the former, like the latter, enjoy fundamental human rights. Although such rights have been recognized repeatedly in international law, it is not so easy to specify what this recognition entails; for example, the *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights*, adopted by the United Nations in December 1966, provides in Article 27 that

> In those States in which ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities exist, persons belonging to such minorities shall not be denied the right, in community with the other members of their group, to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practice their own religion, or to use their own language. (Storimans, 1993, 31)

The influence of modern compulsory schooling is so profound, some argue, that this right can only be guaranteed through alternative forms of schooling for ethnic and language minority groups, comparable to the alternative religiously-based schools which most nations allow and even support. The *Convention Against Discrimination in Education*, adopted by UNESCO in December 1960, asserts such a right but hedges it about severely in Article 5:

> It is essential to recognize the right of members of national minorities [note that this does not include *immigrant* minorities] to carry on their own educational activities, including the maintenance of schools and, depending on the educational policy of each State, the use or the teaching of their own language, provided however:
>
> > (i) That this right is not exercised in a manner which prevents the members of these minorities from understanding the culture and language of the community as a whole and from participating in its activities, or which prejudices national sovereignty;
> >
> > (ii) That the standard of education is not lower than the general standard laid down or approved by the competent authorities; and
> >
> > (iii) That attendance at such schools is optional. (OIDEL, nd, 28)

It should be noted that the logic of this statement is quite distinct from that of an earlier (1953) UNESCO position, growing out of a conference held in 1951, which stated that "we take it as axiomatic...that the best medium for teaching is the mother tongue of the child" (quoted in Baral, 1983, 6). The 1953 statement was focused upon what the assembled experts believed was in the best interests of the early schooling of children, especially those in developing nations still ruled by colonial powers, whereas the 1960 statement is concerned to assert the group rights of national minorities.

The *Final Helsinki Accord*, adopted in June 1990 by all the European nations except Albania and by the United States and Canada, stated a right to ethnic schools but without suggesting any obligation on the part of government to fund such schools or even to recognize them as equivalent to its own schools.

> To belong to a national minority is a matter of a person's individual choice and no disadvantage may arise from the exercise of such choice. Persons belonging to national minorities have the right freely to express, preserve and develop their ethnic, cultural, linguistic or religious identity and to maintain and develop their culture in all its aspects, free of any attempts at assimilation against their will. In particular, they have the right...to establish and maintain their own educational, cultural and religious institutions. (Storimans, 1993, 37)

Several international agreements have taken another tack, asserting a right to a measure of minority language maintenance within the context of regular schooling. The Council of Europe adopted a resolution in 1969 that urged countries hosting labor migrants to keep open the possibility of return through "mother tongue teaching corresponding with the curricular requirements of the countries of origin" (Wittek, 1992, 3). Even as the prospect of return to the

homeland has faded, a series of resolutions and pilot programs of the European Community have called for "intercultural education" with an emphasis on optional mother tongue instruction. Similarly, the chapter on migrant workers of the *Final Helsinki Accord* committed the states signing it "to ensure that the children of migrant workers established in the host country have access to the education usually given there, under the same conditions as the children of the country and, furthermore, to permit them to receive supplementary education in their own language, national culture, history and geography" (Storimans, 1993, 40). Similarly, the *European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages* (Strasbourg, November 1992) provides, in Article 8, Section 1:

> With regard to education, the Parties undertake, within the territory in which such languages are used, according to the situation of each of these languages, *and without prejudice to the teaching of the official language(s) of the State*:...
>
> (i) to make available primary education in the relevant regional or minority languages; or
>
> (ii) to make available a substantial part of primary education in the relevant regional or minority languages; or
>
> (iii) to provide, within primary education, for the teaching of the relevant regional or minority languages as an integral part of the curriculum; or
>
> (iv) to apply one of the measures provided for under i to iii above at least to those pupils whose families so request and whose number is considered sufficient.... (Storimans, 1993, 39, emphasis added)

This argument has been applied to linguistic minority children in Denmark in these terms:

> the child must have the possibility of using his or her resources actively in interaction with children from the same culture, with adults from the same culture, and in surroundings that, in their symbolism and imagery, mirror their culture. (Horst, 1988, 22)

According to this interpretation of "minority rights," ethnic groups "have the same democratic right to cultural reproduction as do the majority population" (Clausen & Horst, 1987, 102).

As we have seen, immigrant languages are not usually sustained (other than in marginal ways) into the second and third generations by immigrant communities themselves. This has led to demands by language advocates that

public education systems take on the task, through supplemental programs, of teaching these languages to children who have not learned them from their parents, and those of most nations under review have made some efforts in that direction.

Lambert and Taylor have studied the attitude of several ethnic groups in the American Mid-West toward the role of public schools in maintaining the heritage language of their children. One of the questions they asked was whether that language should be used "for part of the teaching and learning in public schools." Another question was whether children should "learn to read and write our own language not through school, but through church-run or community-run classes." On a scale from 1 ("definitely disagree") to 7 ("definitely agree"), the two least-assimilated groups, Arab-Americans and Albanian-Americans, were strongly supportive of both forms of language maintenance. Mexican-Americans and Polish-Americans were also positive about programs to maintain their languages, but rather less so. Perhaps the most interesting finding was that Puerto Ricans were among the most insistent on language-maintenance efforts in schools, but much the least supportive of community-based efforts to maintain their language outside of school.

In answer to the argument that every group is free to continue to use any language they wish privately, without involving the government or publicly supported education, Swedish advocates for home language classes insist that the prospects of developing and maintaining full competence in a minority language are unfavorable. There are few opportunities to receive stimulation or positive support for use of the home language.

> Sweden is far from being a bilingual country—it is a mono-lingual country with many small minority languages. The limited opportunity for active or passive language stimulation applies even to the minority that is in a class by itself, the Finns. The few hours of broadcast time for Finns in Finnish on radio and TV, Finnish sections in some large daily newspapers and instruction in Finnish in home language classes (for a certain part of school attendance for pupils in densely Finnish areas) are naturally not comparable to the circumstances of Finns in Finland. Moreover the use of Finnish in Sweden is limited...to the private sphere such as relations with family and friends. Much more limited are the opportunities for other language groups, especially those which are very small, to use their languages. This places a heavy burden upon the schools to compensate as far as is possible for the limits imposed by the milieu on language learning through comprehensive and well-planned instruction *in* and *through* the pupil's first language. (Tingbjorn, 1988, 87)

Table 2
Support for Maintenance of Ancestral Language

Ethnic Group	Support Language Maintenance Outside School	Support Language Maintenance in School
Mexican-American	5.43	5.55
Puerto Rican	3.05	6.63
Polish-American	5.23	4.52
Arab-American	6.69	6.74
Albanian-American	6.72	6.21

Source: from Lambert & Taylor, 1990, 77, 100
(1 = "definitely disagree"; 7 = "definitely agree")

Whether schools make such efforts or not, only individuals, in the final analysis, can continue to use a language or not do so, as they choose. A government official pointed out to the author a nuance in the wording of the Swedish national curriculum adopted in 1980, which stated that

> the purpose of instruction in home languages is for the pupils to develop their language so that it will provide them with a means of growing into individuals with a strong sense of identity and a clear opinion of themselves, their group identity and their living situation. Home language instruction must help the pupils to retain contact with their family and their language group. This will enhance the prospects of their linguistic development. Instruction must lay the foundations of the pupils' development of active bilingualism. (National Swedish Board of Education, 1980)

This curriculum, and thus the Swedish educational system, did not claim to *develop* an active bilingualism but simply to lay the foundations for one which the individual might or might not choose to build upon (interview with Bertil Jacobsson, 2/6/89). For Finnish educational activist Tove Skutnabb-Kangas, on the other hand, "it should be the task of the school to give the migrant children as good a command of the mother tongue as they would get in a school in their native land" (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1979, 5).

"Proclamations concerning bilingual education," according to Richard Rodriguez, "are weighted at bottom with Hispanic political grievances and, too, with middle-class romanticism" (Rodriguez, 1992, 352). Even though it is the ethnic group whose interests are most closely associated with mainte-

nance of a minority language, there may be individual interests to do so as well, quite distinct from any calculation of profit. Dismissal of romantic yearnings for an ancestral language fails to do justice to the purpose that can be served by ethnic identity, however vestigial, in defining oneself in contrast with a majority culture that seems stifling or insufficiently respectful. No harm is done, surely, when individuals choose to emphasize some aspect of their ancestral heritage for reasons that seem good to them.

Whether public funding should support private decisions to maintain an ancestral language (or, indeed, to learn another language of choice) is a question more of curriculum planning than of fundamental educational policy. Publicly supported schools commonly offer optional enrichment activities, especially at the secondary level, and it may be that classes to maintain ancestral languages should be thought of in this context. The supplemental home language classes provided on a voluntary basis to the children of immigrants by most of the countries included in this study might be considered an appropriate enrichment apart from considerations of success in the academic mainstream.

As an American critic of bilingual education has pointed out, "there are several reasons...for teaching children in their home language instead of the language of the majority community, such as promoting language loyalty, community closeness, political hegemony, and control by ethnic leaders. However, such reasons exist quite apart from reasons of equal educational opportunity or effective second-language learning or social integration" (Porter, 1990, 63).

The case for public support for the maintenance of minority languages is commonly made, however, in the name, not of individual rights, but of the rights of groups, and by analogy with the much-litigated rights of African Americans to be accorded some remedies by American society because of the disabilities under which they, because of their involuntary group membership, previously suffered. For African Americans, it was the color of their skin and not any individual merits or demerits that determined their treatment under the laws of a number of American states. Whether even in this instance there is such a thing as a "group right" is much debated, notably in the legal cases and political controversies over affirmative action.

It is true that the federal courts, since the *Soria v. Oxnard* (488 F2d 579) and *Keyes* (413 U.S. 189, 203) cases in 1973, have extended to Hispanics the standard of strict scrutiny for group-based discrimination and eligibility for certain kinds of group-based remedies. The ruling in *Soria* found that Hispanics

and blacks "suffer identical discrimination in treatment compared with the treatment afforded Anglo students." In no case, however, has the right to a remedy of past discrimination been extended to a right to public support in maintaining the group's identity or language. Indeed, Shirley Hufstedler, the federal judge who was on the winning side of the *Lau* decision of the Supreme Court, when later serving as Secretary of Education, insisted that "the Lau regulations [issued by her agency] are *not* designed to maintain any language or subculture in the United States" (quoted by Ruíz, 1988, 9).

National minorities in several European countries—Frisians in the Netherlands, Germans in Belgium—are often entitled to support in their distinctiveness, though more commonly through political than legal decisions, and on a territorial basis. The latter, for example, have a right to instruction of their children through German so long as they live in the small section of Belgium where that right is established, but no such right if they move to Charleroi (where French would be the language of instruction) or Antwerp (where it would be Dutch).

English-speakers in Quebec and French-speakers in Ontario have rights anchored in the Act of Union of 1840 and the British North America Act of 1867, by which Canada was established, and the Charter of Rights and Freedoms of 1972 extended the right to instruction through these two languages to all parts of Canada—but it has not been ratified by Quebec, which continues to assert a territorial basis for language use which does not acknowledge an individual right of language choice.

The only language minority groups in the United States with the right to be treated as members of a group rather than as individuals are members of Indian peoples that made treaties with the national government in the course of the westward expansion of its control; this is the basis for the greater organizational autonomy and distinctiveness that is at least possible for Indian education under tribal jurisdiction compared with the education provided to the children of immigrants.

In general, however, and despite the international covenants and statements of principle, only individual and not group rights are recognized by the Western democracies, and the assertion of a right to public support in the maintenance of a non-territorial group—particularly one constituted on an ethnic basis—is an invitation to political debate. Some countries (the United Kingdom, the Netherlands) are inclined to look favorably upon such demands because of their traditions of institutional pluralism; others (France in particular) find them repugnant. American policy-makers, with characteristic

equivocation, provide separate schooling through minority languages on a massive scale, but do so in the name of "transition" to the educational mainstream and not of any recognition of group rights.

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Follow-up Study on the Bethlehem, Pa, School District's English Acquisition Program

Ann Goldberg

Introduction

The children who are the subject of this evaluation are a vital element in our classrooms. Just as they struggle to learn a new language, we strive to find more effective ways to support their learning. Along the way, we can celebrate differences, see the world through new eyes, and prepare for the twenty-first century.

In the fall of 1995, *READ Perspectives* published "The Bethlehem, PA, School District's English Acquisition Program: A Blueprint for Change" by Simons, Connelly, and Goldberg. The Bethlehem Area School District Superintendent of Schools, Thomas J. Doluisio, requested that an Internal Program Evaluation be conducted based on data from the first three years of the English Acquisition Program; the present article provides the results of this evaluation.

The evaluation team followed the process outlined in the Bethlehem Area School District's *Internal Program Evaluation* manual. Dr. Nelson, Director of Elementary Education; Mrs. Kostem, Assistant Superintendent; and the Director of Secondary Education recommended the members of the Internal Evaluation Team. Key committee members were chosen from schools with high numbers of limited-English proficient students. Members of the Internal Evaluation Team were as follows: the coordinator of the program, three curriculum supervisors from three middle schools, four elementary school principals, one assistant high school principal, one elementary school ESOL teacher, one middle school ESOL teacher, two high school ESOL teachers, one elementary school classroom teacher, one high school English teacher, and one bilingual elementary school reading specialist. The Internal Evaluation Team met from January 1996 to August 1996 to conduct the evaluation process.

Overview of the English Acquisition Program

The following overview is provided in the 1995 *READ Perspectives* article, but

is summarized briefly here for the reader's information. For almost twenty years the Bethlehem schools had provided bilingual education (instruction in Spanish and in English) for its limited-English proficient students, but by 1992 Superintendent Doluisio came to the conclusion that all language minority students need to gain English fluency as quickly as possible if they are to receive the highest quality education. After extensive discussion with staff, and presentations to the Board of School Directors, the superintendent convinced the Board to vote to change the bilingual program to a program of English language instruction. The goal of the Bethlehem Area School District's new English Acquisition Program, as was stated by the Board of School Directors at its meeting on February 1, 1993, was to have all limited-English proficient (LEP) students become fluent in English in the shortest amount of time so that they might achieve maximum success in school. A team of thirty educators, led by Michele Kostem, Assistant Superintendent, designed the new program of English Acquisition during the spring of 1993. The program differs somewhat at each level: elementary school, middle school, and high school. A brief description of the program at each level follows.

English Acquisition at the Elementary School Level
The philosophy of the elementary school program is

- To provide an academic setting that accelerates the acquisition of English;
- To integrate LEP students into all classes;
- To increase all students' oral language proficiency;
- To coordinate the child's educational program to reduce fragmentation; and
- To provide native language support for concept clarification when possible.

Each student is monitored twice a year as he or she moves through the stages of oral proficiency, reading and writing in English.

High impact schools (Donegan, Freemansburg, and Marvine, with 40 percent to 50 percent or more LEP students) have reduced class size ratios of approximately 20 to 1. Moderate impact schools (Clearview, Fountain Hill, and Lincoln, with 12 percent to 30 percent LEP students) have class sizes reduced when large numbers of LEP students are served at a particular grade level. English as a Second Language is provided to students at the beginner level at the high and moderate impact schools for 75 minutes daily. Intermediate and advanced students are given 45-minute sessions of ESL three or more times a week. All students are enrolled in their neighborhood elementary schools.

At low impact schools (Asa Packer, Buchanan, Calypso, Farmersville, Governor Wolf, Hanover, Miller Heights, Spring Garden, Thomas Jefferson, and William Penn, with 0 percent to 6 percent LEP students), itinerant English-as-a-Second-Language teachers schedule two to four sessions a week for small groups of students. Additional support may be provided by paid tutors, at a maximum of five hours per week per student, at the school's request. These paid tutors, called "Second Language Guides," must pass a proficiency test using literature materials from the curriculum. Second Language Guides may also be used in moderate and high impact schools, particularly if the student's home language is other than Spanish.

English Acquisition at the Middle School Level

The cornerstone of the middle school level, grades 6–8, is the teaming concept of the middle school philosophy. New English Acquisition students at the beginner level of English proficiency are assigned to Broughal Middle School. This beginner group is part of an academic learning team that provides extensive interaction between the ESOL teachers and the teachers who deliver content area instruction. The beginner level middle school student receives two ESOL periods daily, language arts and reading, with both the ESOL teacher and the teacher of language arts and reading delivering the instruction. The other subjects are taught to the beginner classes by content area teachers with the support of a bilingual aide. All beginner students are assigned "buddies" and attend physical education, industrial arts, home economics, other related arts courses, lunch, homeroom, and activity periods with their English-speaking peers. Selected beginner students who complete most of fifth grade in their home elementary schools and who demonstrate strong growth in language proficiency attend their home middle school.

Intermediate level students all attend their neighborhood middle schools. The program consists of two periods of ESOL daily (taught by bilingual teachers in Spanish and English) and regular instruction in mathematics, science, and social studies with native English speakers. These students are assigned "buddies," if needed, who serve as partners and helpers during homeroom, activity periods, related arts, mathematics, science, and social studies. Advanced level students, also served in their home schools, receive only one period of ESOL daily and receive instruction in the regular academic program of language arts, mathematics, science, and social studies. All middle school students in the English Acquisition Program have access to an ESOL tutorial support program, offered as an option at the end of the day, from 3:00 to 3:45 PM. The ESOL teacher is required to staff this after-school center to provide peer tutoring, homework club, and after-school activities. Students who have been in

the English Acquisition Program may take advantage of this period as they move through the stages of beginner, intermediate, and advanced, and even after they exit from the program. This after-school program is seen as an opportunity for students to receive individual help and to discuss concerns.

English Acquisition at the High School Level

The high school program has been an English language instructional program for many years. Since fall 1993, the program has used two models: (1) English Acquisition Program (EAP), designed for students who need a program to provide marketable skills from business and vocational-technical classes; (2) Transitional Educational Program (TEP), designed for English Acquisition students who are typical learners. TEP enables students to participate in mainstream classes 30–40 percent the first year, 55 percent in the second year, 75–80 percent in the third, and to exit the program in the fourth year.

PROGRAM OF STUDIES

EAP I—Grades 9–10

2pds.	Composition/Reading Development
2pds.	Oral Language Development
1pd.	Keyboarding (2nd semester)
1pd.	EAP 1 Math
1pd.	English Acquisition Resource Room
1pd.	Physical Education/Elective

EAP 2—Grades 9–11

1pd.	EAP 2 English Language Development
1pd.	EAP 2 Life Science
1pd.	EAP US History
1pd.	English Acquisition Resource Room
3pds.	Grade 10–11—Vo-tech/Business classes (for 9th grade: Career Awareness; 9th grade: Reading)
1pd.	Physical Education/Elective/Keyboarding

EAP 3—Grades 10–12

1pd.	EAP 3 English Language Development
1pd.	EAP 3 Science
1pd.	EAP World Geography
1pd.	English Acquisition Resource Room
3pds.	Vo-Tech/Business classes
	All other classes in the regular program

EAP 4—Grades 10–12

1 pd.	English Language Development
1 pd.	English Acquisition Resource Room
3 pds.	Vo-Tech/Business classes
	All other classes in the regular program

TEP 1—Grades 9–10

2 pds.	Composition/Reading Development
2 pds.	Oral Language Development
1 pd.	English Acquisition Resource Room
1 pd.	Keyboarding (First Semester)
1 pd.	Mathematics (EAP 1 Math or from transcript)
1 pd.	Physical Education/Elective

TEP 2—Grades 9–11

3 pds.	English Language Development
1 pd.	TEP 2 Science Concepts
1 pd.	TEP 2 Social Studies Concepts
1 pd.	English Acquisition Resource Room
	All other classes in the regular program

TEP 3—Grades 9–12

1 pd.	Transitional English-supports English 9B
1 pd.	English 9B
1 pd.	TEP Content Area Reading (Science and Government texts)
1 pd.	Regular class -Government/Economics
1 pd.	Regular class -Introduction to Chemistry and Physics
1 pd.	English Acquisition Resource Room
	All other classes in the regular program

How Do We Determine *Exit* from the English Acquisition Program?
Exit is decided by a team from each school, organized by the building principal. *Exit* is based on the student's ability to achieve in the regular program. On the Stages Form, the level of competence required for exit is shown for the elementary, middle, and high school levels. The ESOL teacher and the student's classroom teacher provide the necessary documentation for determining the oral language level and reading and writing levels: for oral language, the classroom teacher and ESOL teacher ascertain the level as described in the "Stages" description; for reading, the teacher provides a photocopy of a passage which the student is required to read and retell successfully; a photocopy of the student's written performance, taken from actual classroom work,

is added to the student's portfolio. The stages of oral language, reading and writing are circled on the form provided and all members of the team sign the Change in Program Form. A member of the team is designated to inform parents of the change. Copies of the form and the documentation are sent to the Center for Language Assessment (CLA) for review by the coordinator of the Program.

How Are Kindergarten Students Served?

Kindergarten students are not served by the ESOL teacher; they receive a language-rich curriculum based on thematic units. In April, during kindergarten registration for the following school year, students who speak a language other than English are tested by trained CLA testers using the PreLAS test in English and in Spanish, if appropriate.

Follow-up is done in May during the kindergarten year, when each kindergartner is retested to determine his/her levels of oral language proficiency and the need for additional help in first grade. More than 90 percent of the students demonstrate growth, often from a PreLAS score of 0 to a score of 50–70. Although a score below 72 still places the student as a "beginner," the student has made substantial gains in both receptive and expressive language.

A major benefit of the English Acquisition Program is greater integration of students from varied backgrounds, resulting in friendships that begin in kindergarten and continue through graduation.

Procedures for Testing Students in the Center for Language Assessment

Under provisions of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, all students (or parents of students) are given the Home Language Survey. Students who have a second language or who speak a language other than English at home are referred for testing before entering the Bethlehem Area School District.

Testing is conducted at the Center for Language Assessment with the following instruments:

- Language Assessment Scales—Oral (LAS-O) measures the oral proficiency of students from the end of first grade through twelfth grade in either English or Spanish;
- The PreLAS measures the oral language proficiency of preschool, kindergarten, and students beginning first grade;
- The Brigance Reading Test measures oral reading, word recognition, and reading comprehension;

- A writing sample is taken in English and in the native language, if possible; and
- A mathematics competency test is given to secondary school students.

Based on test results, a recommendation is made for placement either into the regular program or at one of the following levels of English proficiency: beginner, intermediate, or advanced. Copies of testing and summary information are sent to the student's school for review by the principal and teachers.

Proficiency Levels and Program Stages

The ESOL teacher and the classroom teacher rate each student's progress in stages of oral language, reading, and writing in November and June. Progress in classroom performance, as described in the English Acquisition Stages Form, is what signals a move to a higher proficiency level. The usual requirement is that a student perform at the higher level in at least two of the three areas described above.

Staffing for the English Acquisition Program

The Center for Language Assessment is a district office located at Marvine Elementary School. The Center is responsible for testing of all new limited-English proficient students; tracking student progress through school reports of each English Acquisition student every November and June; monitoring of exit procedures conducted by the schools; coordinating a summer program for beginner level students; coordinating efforts with principals and central office administrators; and providing support, supplementary materials, and inservice for ESOL teachers. The Center is staffed by the coordinator for the K–12 English Acquisition program, a full-time secretary, and a full-time tester.

The English Acquisition staff for all schools is described below:

High- and moderate-impact elementary schools:

Donegan	5 teachers	4.0 full-time equivalent staff
Freemansburg	2 teachers	2.0
Marvine	3 teachers	2.7
Fountain Hill	2 teachers	1.5
Lincoln	1 teacher	1.0
Clearview	1 teacher	0.5

Ten low-impact elementary schools:

Itinerant staff	3 teachers	2.0

Middle schools:

Broughal	4 teachers	3.0

Northeast	2 teachers	1.5
Nitschmann	1 teacher	0.7
East Hills	1 teacher	1.0
High school:		
Liberty	5 teachers	5.0
Total teaching staff:	30	24.9 full-time equivalents

KEY CONCERNS AND RELATED GENERAL QUESTIONS

Is the English Acquisition Program producing English language fluency in the shortest amount of time so that students have the best opportunity for success in school? How can this new program be improved? In order to answer these questions, the Internal Evaluation Team prepared a list of specific questions to be used as performance indicators:

1. How many students were enrolled in the program in November 1993, by school and level (beginner, intermediate, advanced)?
2. How many students were enrolled in the program in June 1996, by school and level (beginner, intermediate, advanced)?
3. How many students successfully exited the English Acquisition Program?
4. How many students who qualify for the English Acquisition Program have enrolled since July 1993?
5. How many English Acquisition students have left the district since September 1993?
6. Of the original cohort (1993/94 enrollment), how many students have moved from beginning to intermediate? What percentage of beginners exited within three years?
7. Of the original cohort (1993/94 enrollment), how many students have moved from intermediate to advanced? What percentage of intermediate level students exited within three years?
8. Of the original cohort (1993/94 enrollment), how many students have moved from advanced to exit within three years?
9. What is the average length of time it takes a student to move from beginner to intermediate, intermediate to advanced, and advanced to exit the program? Are there differences in the average length of time among elementary school students, middle school students, and high school students?
10. What is the average amount of gain seen in the original cohort (1993/

94 enrollment) in stages of oral language, reading, and writing over three years?

11. Are there extreme cases, both of those who exit very quickly and of those who move very slowly through the levels?
12. What is the report card cumulative average for exited students now in high school, given by grade level and school?
13. What is the report card average for exited students now in middle school, given by school and grade level?
14. What are the average reading and mathematics percentile scores of advanced students and exited students, by grade level, on the Metropolitan Achievement Tests?
15. What is the response of parents to the English Acquisition Program?
16. What is the response of staff to the program?
17. What is the response of students to the program?
18. What are the strengths and weaknesses of the elementary school program?
19. What are the strengths and weaknesses of the middle school program?
20. What are the strengths and weaknesses of the high school program?

Performance Indicators

1. This study includes average percentile scores, by grade level, from the standardized test data of the Metropolitan Achievement Tests (MAT7). Reading and Mathematics Scores were obtained for grades 1–8 and grade 10. Language subtest scores were obtained for grades 6–8. Norms for percentiles were obtained from the Metropolitan Achievement Test Manual: Low (1–22nd percentile), Middle (23rd–76th percentile), and High (77th–99th percentile).

2. Levels of the English Acquisition Program are determined by the students' classroom performance in oral language, reading, and writing. Students are placed at the beginner, intermediate, or advanced level. Each level includes a range of stages. For example, a beginner level student may be described at stage 1, 2, or 3 in oral language proficiency.

Each November and June, ESOL teachers send individual reports describing the program level and stages of oral language, reading, and writing for each student enrolled in the English Acquisition Program. The data are entered into the data base using the Filemaker Pro 3.0 program.

3. Survey results from the parent survey, the teacher survey, and the elementary school and secondary school English Acquisition student surveys were performance indicators used to answer specific measurable questions.

4. Grade point averages are computed based on the following: A = 4.0, B = 3.0, C = 2.0, D = 1.0, and F = 0.0.

DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS

Surveys were collected and results were tabulated by teacher and administrative teams. Summary data for all surveys were entered in spreadsheets for review by the team. Student performance data on progress from beginner, intermediate, and advanced levels through exit were collected through the Center for Language Assessment data base.

To assess the impact of the current program without distorting the data by including data from students who participated in the former program, the committee decided to examine the progress of those students who enrolled in the Bethlehem schools between February 1, 1993, and October 1, 1993. These students spent either no time or less than one semester in the former bilingual program. Of these 240 students, 59 (25 percent) withdrew from the school system before June 1996. The remaining 181 students were in the English Acquisition Program for three years. This group is described as "the original cohort" within the remainder of this document.

Average percentile Metropolitan Achievement Test scores and secondary level students' grade point averages were entered into spreadsheets.

Subcommittees at the elementary school, middle school, and high school level met separately during the summer to review the data and discuss strengths and weaknesses at each level. The full Internal Evaluation Team met again in late August, 1996, to review the draft version of the Internal Evaluation Report. The document was reviewed by the Superintendent and Cabinet and by administrators at all three levels. Their suggestions, revisions, and concerns were addressed in this final version.

SPECIFIC MEASURABLE QUESTIONS

1. How many students were enrolled in the program in November 1993, by school and level (beginner, intermediate, advanced)?

The results can be found in Table 1.

2. How many students were enrolled in the program in June 1996, by school and level (beginner, intermediate, advanced)? Table 2 provides this breakdown.

The distribution of students in the English Acquisition Program has changed from November 1993 to June 1996. In the elementary schools, large numbers of beginner students are enrolled each year in kindergarten. The total number of beginners, grades K–5, has been reduced from 436 (in 1993) to 334 (in

Table 1
Students Enrolled in Program, November 1993

	Beginner	Intermediate	Advanced	Exited
Elementary				
Asa Packer	3	3	5	0
Buchanan	3	4	4	0
Calypso	12	0	0	0
Clearview	17	12	22	0
Donegan	195	56	32	8
Farmersville	0	1	0	0
Fountain Hill	12	26	10	6
Freemansburg	74	20	35	4
Governor Wolf	4	4	2	1
Hanover	1	0	0	0
Lincoln	13	27	16	0
Marvine	84	31	32	7
Miller Heights	3	1	0	0
Spring Garden	4	2	2	1
Th. Jefferson	3	1	7	0
William Penn	8	6	1	0
Subtotal	436	194	168	27
Middle School				
Broughal	81	54	37	3
East Hills	0	6	11	0
Nitschmann	1	17	5	0
Northeast	5	30	17	0
Subtotal	87	107	70	3
High School				
Liberty	34	50	20	0
Total	557	351	258	30

June, 1996); the number of intermediate level students has grown from 194 to 270; the number of advanced level students changed from 168 to 176; and the number of students who achieved English language literacy and exited the program grew from 27 to 163.

In the secondary schools, the distribution of English Acquisition students has shifted from November 1993, when large numbers of students were placed at the beginner and intermediate levels, to June 1996, when large

Table 2
Students Enrolled in Program, June 1996

	Beginner	Intermediate	Advanced	Exited
Elementary				
Asa Packer	6	6	5	4
Buchanan	3	0	3	2
Calypso	2	3	3	2
Clearview	14	12	5	14
Donegan	87	62	41	40
Farmersville	2	2	0	2
Fountain Hill	49	42	27	24
Freemansburg	51	49	32	27
Governor Wolf	1	7	5	1
Hanover	0	0	0	0
Lincoln	26	33	15	8
Marvine	81	43	24	24
Miller Heights	0	0	0	0
Spring Garden	5	4	2	5
Th. Jefferson	5	5	4	3
William Penn	2	2	10	7
Subtotal	334	270	176	163
Middle School				
Broughal	51	24	41	39
East Hills	2	15	15	15
Nitschmann	1	1	4	24
Northeast	4	35	40	22
Subtotal	58	75	100	100
High School				
Liberty	28	29	46	58
Total	420	374	322	321

numbers of students had progressed to placement at the advanced and exited levels.

Several hundred newcomers in grades 1 through 12 and approximately 150 kindergarten students eligible for the English Acquisition Program enroll in the Bethlehem Area School District each year, most of these at the beginner level. The total enrollment of students served by the program (excluding special education and exited students) at the beginner, inter-

mediate and advanced levels equaled 1,166 in November 1993 and 1,116 in June 1966.

3. How many students successfully exited the English Acquisition Program?

Three hundred eighty-one students successfully exited the program. Sixty of these exited students left the Bethlehem Area School district.

4. How many students who qualify for the English Acquisition Program have enrolled since July 1993?

Since July 1993, 1,149 students registered at the Center for Language Assessment and qualified for the English Acquisition Program.

5. How many English Acquisition students have left the district since September 1993?

Six hundred forty-eight students who were enrolled in the English Acquisition Program left the Bethlehem Area School District since September 1993.

Evaluation of Progress of Students Who Entered in 1993 at the Beginning of the English Acquisition Program

The majority of students in the original cohort come from homes with limited resources. Eighty-three percent of the students in this group are eligible for free or reduced lunch. When comparing rates of progress of the Bethlehem original cohort with other school district students, the socioeconomic levels of the populations must be considered.

6. Of the original cohort (181 students as described above), how many students have moved from beginning to intermediate? What percentage of beginners exited within three years?

By June 1996, the 130 students who were originally classified as beginners when first served in the English Acquisition Program were distributed through the levels as follows: 12 students exited the program (9 percent); 32 students moved to the advanced level (25 percent); 59 students moved to the intermediate level (45 percent); 3 students were placed in special education (2 percent); and 24 students remained at the beginner level (18 percent). Of this last group, 18 were originally assessed at the very lowest levels of oral language, reading and writing. Three years later, these students had made significant progress in these areas but were still at the beginner level because they had yet to master all the necessary foundation skills.

7. Of the original cohort (the 181 students who entered for the 1993/94 year and were served for three years), how many students have moved from intermediate to advanced? What percentage of intermediate level students exited within three years?

By June 1996 the 34 students who were classified at the intermediate level when first served in the English Acquisition Program were distributed throughout the levels as follows: 15 students exited the program within three years (44 percent); 13 students moved from the intermediate to the advanced level (38 percent); and 6 students remained at the intermediate level (18 percent).

8. Of the original cohort (the 181 students who entered in 1993 and remained for three years), how many students have moved from advanced to exit within three years?

By June 1996 the 17 students who were originally classified at the advanced level when first served in the English Acquisition Program were distributed throughout the levels as follows: 16 students had exited the program (94 percent) and 1 student remained at the advanced level (6 percent).

9. What is the average length of time it takes a student to move from beginner to intermediate, intermediate to advanced, and advanced to exit the program?

Because success in the regular classroom is the goal of the program, students need to master English reading, writing, and speaking skills to exit.

The Internal Evaluation Committee agrees that a *typical* student who enters with *low* levels in oral proficiency, reading, and writing may need approximately two years at the beginner level, one to two years at the intermediate level, and one year at the advanced level.

A brief case study may serve to illustrate typical student growth. Jesennia was evaluated initially before kindergarten entrance in April 1993 and, under the guidelines of the old program, would have been placed into a Spanish-speaking kindergarten. After a year in the English-speaking kindergarten (May 1994), the tester wrote that Jesennia could now understand simple directions, identify simple nouns, and distinguish correct adjectives. Her expressive skills were still quite limited. At the end of first grade (May 1995), her ESOL teacher moved her to the intermediate level and wrote that Jesennia understood a story read in English. She could read simple words and was able to retell what she read. At the end of second grade, (May 1996), the ESOL teacher moved her to the advanced level and observed, "She has excellent recall of

details. Jesennia can read fluently and very quickly. She did a super job on the testing."

10. What is the average amount of gain seen in the original cohort (1993/94 students) in stages of oral language, reading, and writing over three years?

Oral Language Proficiency: A typical student moves from being able to understand little or no English to being able to understand adult speech and to carry on a basic conversation, although he or she may need repetition, may sometimes grope for words, and may have difficulty with verb tenses.

Reading: A newcomer student is typically unable to read in English. After three years, the typical student reads and understands the main ideas appropriate to his or her placement level, but may need ESOL support to understand more advanced vocabulary and/or concepts.

Writing: A newcomer student can only write his or her name in English. After three years, the typical student can write a concrete description, show a sequential relationship between sentences, and use spellings that are readable. He or she can use present and past tense correctly in common verbs.

11. Are there extreme cases, both of those who exit very quickly and of those who move very slowly through the levels?

There *are* small numbers of extreme cases. In the answers to Questions 6, 7, and 8, we see evidence of students who moved rapidly through the program. Teachers report that students who move very quickly through the program are those who are persistent in seeking out answers to their questions, who consistently do quality work, who strive for high grades, and who are competitive and self-motivated.

We also see evidence of some students who have remained at the same level for three years. Although their numbers are very small, they are cause for concern. Teachers report that students who move very slowly through the levels may have poor attendance, may have changed schools frequently, may have difficulty with basic literacy and math skills, and/or may have experienced severe problems at home. School administrators have reviewed these cases to determine what steps are needed to promote further growth. There is a constant search for better methods to assist the "hard to teach" student.

12. What is the report card cumulative average for exited students now in high school, given by grade level and school? These scores represent average

scores, by grade level, of all students who exited the English Acquisition Program.

Many of these students were enrolled originally in the former bilingual program. Exited students from the "original cohort" and all other exited students' scores were included.

At Liberty High School, the cumulative average for exited students in 9th grade was 1.692; in 10th grade, 1.87; in 11th grade, 2.429; and in 12th grade, 2.592. At Freedom High School, the cumulative average for exited students in 9th grade was 1.865 and in 10th grade, 1.826.

13. What is the report card average for exited students now in middle school, given by school and grade level?

These scores represent average scores, by grade level, of all students who exited the English Acquisition Program.

Many of these students were enrolled originally in the former bilingual program. Exited students from the "original cohort" and all other exited students' scores were included.

At Broughal Middle School, the cumulative averages were as follows: 2.12 (6th grade), 2.346 (7th grade), and 2.252 (8th grade). At East Hills Middle School, the cumulative averages were as follows: 2.76 (6th grade), 1.836 (7th grade), and 1.514 (8th grade). At Nitschmann Middle School, the cumulative averages were as follows: 2.2 (6th grade), 2.02 (7th grade), and 2.09 (8th grade). At Northeast Middle School, the cumulative averages were as follows: 2.433 (6th grade), 1.924 (7th grade), and 2.226 (8th grade).

14. What are the average reading percentile scores of advanced students and exited students, by grade level, on the Metropolitan Achievement Tests (MAT7)? and

What are the average mathematics percentile scores of advanced and exited ESOL students, by grade level, as measured by the Metropolitan Achievement Tests (MAT7)?

Students in grades one and two were enrolled in the English Acquisition Program and did not participate in the former bilingual program. Students in grade three were enrolled in the English Acquisition Program and may have been enrolled in the former bilingual program in Kindergarten. Students in

grades four through ten were enrolled for one to three years in the English Acquisition Program; many of these students were enrolled originally in the former bilingual program. Average scores appear in Tables 3a and 3b.

15. What is the response of parents to the English Acquisition Program?

Described below is the survey given to parents in April of 1996, including questions and responses:

Is your child's schoolwork appropriate for his or her grade level?

Yes, it is appropriate	88%
No, it is too difficult	5%
No, it is too easy	6%

How does your child feel about school in the Bethlehem Area School District?

Highly positive	34%
Positive	47%
Mixed feelings	15%
Negative	1%
Highly negative	1%

Check reasons for visits made to school (check all that apply):

Attend school program	20%
Conference re: report card	55%
Conference re: school work	31%
Parent meeting	18%
Volunteer work	7%
Discussion of child's behavioral problems	25%
Discussion of EAP	12%

How much time do you spend helping with homework?

Less than a half hour	27%
More than a half hour	54%
Not able to due to language	31%
Not able to help/not familiar with subject	11%
Not able to due to illness	4%
Not able due to other reasons	5%

How do you get information on the English Acquisition Program (check all that apply)?

Cntr for Language Assessment	14%
BELL (CLA newsletter)	39%
Child's teacher	30%

Table 3a
MAT7 Percentile Average Scores: Elementary Schools

	Total Reading	Vocabulary	Reading Comp.	Word Recognition	# Tested	Total Math	Problem Solving	Procedures	# Tested
Grade One									
advanced	34	35	39	32	17	17	22	17	17
exited	35	47	14	59	2	35	39	35	2
Grade Two									
advanced	40	27	44	44	21	41	38	47	21
exited	65	65	60	78	11	69	76	65	11
Grade Three									
advanced	31	23	37		24	34	35	39	24
exited	43	33	50		15	50	49	53	15
Grade Four									
advanced	51	43	55		51	78	77	78	51
exited	39	35	42		33	53	46	53	33
Grade Five									
advanced	34	31	37		72	39	40	40	72
exited	40	33	44		34	46	49	44	34

Table 3b
Secondary School MAT7 Average Percentile Scores for Exited and Advanced Level Students in the English Acquisition Program

	Total Reading	Vocabulary	Reading Comp.	Total Language	# Tested	Editing	Prewriting	Composing	Total Math	Problem Solving	Procedures
Grade Six											
advanced	12	12	14	21	22	23	19	27	13	9	21
exited	32	32	34	43	35	42	48	46	25	24	26
Grade Seven											
advanced	12	10	18	16	31	16	20	25	17	12	19
exited	13	11	17	19	20	22	22	19	20		19
Grade Eight											
advanced	8	7	10	18	19	25	15	22	15	16	13
exited	8	9	10	14	16	18	14	19	13	12	13
Grade Ten											
advanced	5	3	9	11	18	14	14	12	12		
exited	8	8	10	14	12	19	14	17	15		

School newsletters	36%
Other	7%
Not informed	17%

In what areas has your child improved?

Spoken language	73%
Written language	63%
Reading independently	54%
Social interaction	41%
Study skills	46%
Other	4%

What contributed to your child's success in school?

Reading stories	54%
Lessons from ESOL teacher	63%
Taking books home to read	59%
Instruction from teachers who encourage speaking English	65%
Other	10%

16. What is the response of staff to the program?

Described below is the survey administered to all teachers in the Bethlehem Area School District in April 1996, including questions and responses (368 teachers responded):

The BASD English Acquisition Program is doing a good job preparing English Acquisition students for success in school:

	All teachers	Elementary school teachers	Middle school teachers	High school teachers
Strongly agree	7%	9%	6%	4%
Agree	43%	49%	37%	30%
Neither	24%	17%	31%	37%
Disagree	11%	12%	11%	7%
Strongly disagree	2%	2%	3%	0%

Check the strategies used in your elementary school to support students learning English:

Pullout ESOL	87%
Adapting curriculum	77%
Computer utilization	59%

Reteaching	56%
Reading/writing workshops	56%
Adapting assessment	55%
Adapting materials	50%
Team planning	49%
Flexible grouping	48%
Preteaching	44%
Curriculum integration	41%
Push-in ESOL	41%
Collaborative teaching	40%
Paid tutor	28%
After-school tutor	13%
Other	12%
Separate curriculum	6%

In your elementary school classroom, what types of assessment do you use when evaluating English Acquisition students?

Observations	83%
Writing samples	74%
Homework completion	67%
Criterion tests	60%
Running records	50%
Portfolios	46%
Adapted from book tests	45%
Project based	36%
Curriculum based	33%
Student questions	26%
Responsibility banks	8%
Other	8%

In what areas do the elementary school teachers in your classroom have training? need training?

Area	*Have training*	*Need training*
Curriculum adaptation	70%	28%
Materials adaptation	57%	29%
Curriculum integration	42%	20%
Flexible grouping	40%	18%
Cooperative learning	40%	10%
Reading workshop	31%	26%
Writing workshop	30%	7%
Portfolio assessment	29%	29%
Curriculum-based assessment	25%	24%

Authentic performance assessment	23%	24%
Collaborative teaching	21%	21%
Total physical response	20%	24%
Multiple intelligences	20%	19%
Diversity training	18%	22%
Student generated material	18%	20%
Student tutoring	10%	15%
Others	6%	2%

Indicate the effectiveness of the English Acquisition support program in all academic areas with a positive or no effect rating:

	Elementary school teachers:		**Middle school teachers:**	
Area	*Positive*	*No effect*	*Positive*	*No effect*
reading	77%	6%	41%	7%
spelling	60%	15%	35%	10%
science	30%	33%	23%	10%
life skills	37%	21%	23%	8%
writing	65%	8%	39%	6%
mathematics	29%	34%	22%	12%
social studies	31%	34%	28%	10%

To meet the needs of English Acquisition students in your middle school classroom, what training do you have? what training do you need?

Area	*Have training*	*Need training*
Cooperative learning	42%	8%
Flexible grouping	23%	11%
Curriculum adaptation	23%	20%
Portfolio assessment	22%	14%
Student tutoring	21%	8%
Materials adaptation	21%	20%
Curriculum integration	18%	15%
Diversity training	17%	18%
Writing workshop	16%	11%
Student generated material	15%	15%
Multiple intelligences	13%	18%
Collaborative teaching	13%	15%
Reading workshop	12%	15%
Total physical response	9%	17%
CBA	9%	15%

Authentic performance assessment	6%	15%
Others	4%	1%

Which strategies are used in your middle school to support students learning English?

Pullout ESOL	52%
After-school tutor	50%
Adapting curriculum	47%
Team planning	44%
Reteaching	39%
Adapting assessment	37%
Curriculum integration	35%
Adapted materials	35%
Computer utilization	32%
Flexible grouping	30%
Push-in ESOL	30%
Collaborative teaching	25%
Separate curriculum	20%
Preteaching	18%
Reading/writing workshops	13%
Paid tutor	11%
Other	2%

In your middle school classroom, what types of assessment do you use when evaluating English Acquisition students?

Observations	66%
Homework completion	59%
Criterion tests	54%
Project based	52%
Writing samples	49%
Student questions	28%
CBA	26%
Portfolios	25%
Adapted from book tests	25%
Responsibility banks	21%
Running records	16%
Other	13%

Which strategies are used in Liberty High School to support students learning English?

Pullout ESOL	19%
After-school tutor	44%

Adapting curriculum	11%
Team planning	26%
Reteaching	15%
Adapting assessment	7%
Curriculum integration	19%
Adapting materials	15%
Computer utilization	37%
Flexible grouping	30%
Push-in ESOL	11%
Collaborative teaching	22%
Separate curriculum	4%
Preteaching	7%
Reading/writing workshops	11%
Paid tutor	15%
Other	0%

In your Liberty High School classroom, what types of assessment do you use when evaluating English Acquisition students?

Observations	37%
Homework completion	63%
Criterion tests	63%
Project based	44%
Writing samples	33%
Student questions	19%
CBA	19%
Portfolios	19%
Adapted from book tests	11%
Responsibility banks	15%
Running records	22%
Other	4%

To meet the needs of English Acquisition students in your Liberty High School classroom, what training do you have? what training do you need?

Area	*Have training*	*Need training*
Cooperative learning	30%	7%
Flexible grouping	30%	7%
Curriculum adaptation	11%	19%
Portfolio assessment	19%	7%
Student tutoring	19%	0%
Materials adaptation	15%	19%
Curriculum integration	11%	11%
Diversity training	11%	7%

Writing workshop	7%	11%
Student generated material	19%	0%
Multiple intelligences	4%	11%
Collaborative teaching	15%	11%
Reading workshop	7%	11%
Total physical response	7%	7%
CBA	7%	7%
Authentic performance assessment	7%	4%

English language (ESOL) teachers were asked to comment on the following statement: The BASD English Acquisition Program is doing a good job preparing English Acquisition students for success in school.

Response	*Elementary*	*Middle*	*High*
Strongly agree	1	1	2
Agree	7	3	1
Neither	2	0	0
Disagree	0	0	0
Strongly disagree	0	0	0

Which strategies do you use when teaching ESOL students?

Strategy	*Elementary*	*Middle*	*High*
Literature	10	5	3
Graphic organizers	9	5	2
ESOL through content	8	5	2
Preteaching of concepts	9	5	2
Easy reading material	10	5	3
CALLA	2	4	2
Chants, songs, poems	9	3	1
Cooperative grouping	9	5	3
Total physical response	10	2	1
Adapted classroom materials	9	5	1
Drama, role playing	9	5	1
Thematic units	7	5	2
Reading recovery	1	0	0

17. What is the response of students to the program?

Students in EAP were administered a survey in May 1996; questions and responses are recorded below.

In response to the question, "When you don't know what to do in class, what do you do?" students at elementary schools responded that they would

Response	*High impact*	*Medium impact*	*Low impact*
Ask teacher	91%	93%	90%
Ask another adult	44%	55%	44%
Ask a student	62%	58%	41%
Ask but not receive help	11%	11%	0%
Not ask	14%	8%	1%

In response to the same question, middle and high school students responded that they would

Response	*Middle school*	*High school*
Ask teacher	92%	85%
Ask another adult	26%	10%
Ask a student	48%	75%
Ask but not receive help	8%	6%
Not ask	9%	9%

In response to the question, "When you don't know what the teacher is saying, what do you do?" elementary school students responded that they would

Ask teacher	72%
Ask another adult	43%
Ask a student	60%
Ask but not receive help	10%
Not ask	13%

In response to the question, "When others do not know what you're trying to say, what do you do?" students responded that they would

Response	*Elementary*	*Middle*	*High*
Ask teacher	55%	44%	43%
Ask another adult	37%	35%	11%
Ask a student	50%	42%	48%
Ask but not receive help	12%	8%	6%
Not ask	18%	19%	21%

In response to the question, "When the teacher doesn't know what you have written, what do you do?" elementary school students responded that they would

Ask teacher	57%
Ask another adult	41%

Ask a student	45%
Ask but not receive help	10%
Not ask	19%

Students indicated that they demonstrated to the teacher their knowledge by

Response	*Elementary*	*Middle*	*High*
Taking tests	82%	59%	60%
Working in groups	70%	42%	33%
Telling the teacher	75%	50%	37%
Drawing/making charts	66%	20%	10%
Projects	66%	41%	24%
Completing homework	83%	68%	67%

Regarding tests, elementary school students indicated that

Tests are the same as others take	92%
Tests are read to me	45%
Only some of the questions need to be answered	26%
Extra time is allowed	52%
Tests are not necessary	7%

Students indicated that the following methods helped them most in learning English:

Method	*Elementary*	*Middle*	*High*
Reading stories	78%	44%	47%
Listening to stories	69%	28%	31%
Learning with ESOL teacher	81%	66%	66%
Learning with other teachers	67%	35%	20%
Talking to friends who speak English	67%	70%	75%
Talking to teachers who speak English	67%	NA	NA
Working with another student	59%	NA	NA
None of the above	5%	NA	NA

Elementary school students indicated that most of their friends at school are in

Their ESOL classes	47%
Their other classes	75%
Not in their classes	28%
They have no school friends	5%

Middle and high school students see most of their friends

Response	*Middle*	*High*
In their classes	74%	75%
In related arts/elective classes	36%	13%
At lunch	82%	80%
Never in school	7%	4%

Middle and high school students have joined the following activities:

Activity	*Middle*	*High*
Sports	48%	28%
Clubs/extra-curricular activities	9%	15%
Music	17%	2%
Student government	7%	0%
Other	18%	7%

18. What are the strengths and weaknesses of the elementary school program?

The English Acquisition Elementary School Subcommittee reported the following strengths:

- The English Acquisition Program is very well accepted by parents, teachers, and students as noted by survey responses.
- English Acquisition teachers in their role as instructors for students and consultants to classroom teachers are viewed as a significant strength of the program.
- Classroom teachers report that they have implemented a broader variety of teaching techniques and strategies to meet the needs of English Acquisition students as well as of all students in their classes.
- The English Acquisition curriculum is carefully coordinated with the classroom curriculum in order to strengthen the English Acquisition students' knowledge base and to enhance learning.
- A significant number of classroom teachers have requested training in "push-in" English Acquisition techniques.
- Classroom teachers and English Acquisition teachers, in conjunction with support staff, spend a great deal of time planning for effective instruction and working in team-teaching situations.
- Seventy-two percent of elementary school classroom teachers adapt curriculum to enhance student achievement.
- Teacher surveys report a shift in favor of adapting curriculum and the use of strategies from brain research studies.

- Scheduling of teachers and students is more flexible and creative.
- Teachers are employing more authentic assessment practices, including curriculum based assessment, running records, and individually designed projects.
- The English Acquisition Program is built on the development of literacy skills, a requirement for success in the regular classroom, as well as on the development of oral language skills.
- English Acquisition students must demonstrate improvements in reading, writing, and oral communication in order to progress through and eventually exit the program.
- Teachers have implemented readers' workshop and writers' workshop programs in their classrooms. These programs provide students with the opportunity to immerse themselves in literature specifically chosen to reflect their independent reading level and to enhance fluency and comprehension skills.
- Metropolitan Achievement Test average percentile scores for exited English Acquisition students are within average or above average ranges for reading and mathematics.
- The Reading Recovery Program has had a positive impact on the development of reading and communication skills of English Acquisition students.

The English Acquisition Elementary School Subcommittee reported the following weaknesses/concerns:

- It is difficult to monitor students and serve individual student needs in schools with high numbers of transient students.
- Teachers need more extensive training. A district-wide long-term inservice training plan is needed.
- Teachers require more time for collaborative planning in order to effectively employ the "push-in" teaching model. Without the collaborative efforts of both the classroom teacher and the English Acquisition teacher, the classroom instructor may not take responsibility for the English Acquisition students' progress.
- Teachers need additional time to research appropriate teaching materials, adapt existing curriculum, and focus on the individual needs of each child in the class.
- Teachers request that English Acquisition students be allotted additional instructional time and support.
- Due to the broad range of skills at the beginner level, teachers have requested a more intensive program, i.e., more English language instruction,

for beginners who arrive at school with no oral language proficiency in English.

- Medium impact schools need a lower teacher-student ratio for effective instruction and learning.
- Thirty-one percent of parents responded to the parent survey that they are unable to help because of language.
- Teachers expressed frustration at their inability to meet the needs of all of their students due to the wide range of student performance.
- English Acquisition students in low-impact schools are reluctant to ask another student for help when they don't know what to do in class.

To improve the program at the elementary school level, the following actions should be taken:

- Staffing allocations should be revised to provide a sufficient number of educators to meet the needs of the English Acquisition students and their classmates. Lower teacher-student ratios must be implemented in schools where large numbers of students are transient and most English Acquisition students enter at the beginner level.
- Time should be allotted for collaboration between the English Acquisition teacher and the classroom teacher. Mandated meetings must be held each week. This collaborative planning time will facilitate the sharing of teaching techniques, will foster highly productive "push-in" English Acquisition instruction, and will encourage co-ownership and responsibility for the progress of English Acquisition students.
- All staff members require additional training to promote the academic growth of students. This training should be required and held on school district time. All teachers must provide a firm foundation in literacy for students. Kindergarten teachers must be trained with strategies to promote oral language development and emergent literacy of English Acquisition students. Teachers need additional instruction in strategies to use cooperative learning, multiple intelligences, curriculum adaptation, cultural diversity, flexible grouping, readers' workshop, and authentic assessment.

19. What are the strengths and weaknesses of the middle school program?

Strengths of the middle school program:

- All English Acquisition Program students are in homerooms with native speakers of English and take all related arts courses, such as health, art, music, and physical education, in regular classrooms.

- Students are making steady progress in learning English as reflected in their test scores on the assessments conducted in November and May of each year by ESOL teachers.
- Middle school teachers support the English Acquisition program.
- Middle school teachers use a variety of techniques in their schools to support students learning English. Most often used are the pull-out ESOL program, after-school tutoring, adapting curriculum, and team planning.
- Middle school teachers use a variety of assessments when evaluating English Acquisition students, such as teacher observations, homework completion, criterion tests, and project based assessment.
- A majority of exited students received at least average grades in middle school subjects.
- Under the direction of the ESOL teacher, students are enhancing their reading skills by participating in a literature-based program, writing across the curriculum, and learning language through content.
- Many English Acquisition students responded that they regularly participated in school activities.

Weaknesses of the middle school program:

- Limited-English students from language backgrounds other than Spanish inevitably learn some Spanish when placed with their Spanish-speaking peers in the self-contained beginner program. This is a problem as it interferes with the learning of English.
- Average percentile scores in reading and mathematics were in the below average range for advanced and exited students in grades seven and eight. Only sixth-grade English Acquisition students' average percentile scores were within the average range on the standardized tests (MAT7) in reading and math. Scores on standardized tests may be low due to lack of general background information, limited vocabulary, and the timed nature of the test. Based on these low test scores, many English Acquisition students are placed in C track classes, due to the tracking structure of the middle school. It is difficult to make accurate placement decisions for English Acquisition students because of a lack of assessments that provide a valid academic profile of these students.
- Middle school EAP students expressed too often that, while learning English, they sought interaction and support solely from the ESOL teacher, without seeking the support of the regular classroom teacher.
- Many regular classroom teachers have not received training in techniques useful to support students learning English or in literacy teaching skills.

- For better planning and communication, ESOL teachers need to meet on a regular basis with all staff members who have limited-English students in their classes. Present staffing levels do not allow this in some schools.
- Teachers in the regular program need inservice training on techniques such as adapting curriculum, teaching to multiple intelligences, cooperative learning, and flexible grouping.

Recommendations for the middle school program:

- Restructure the self-contained beginner program for non-Spanish speaking beginners so that they continue to receive two periods of ESOL a day, but are mainstreamed in regular classes in mathematics, science, and social studies.
- Restructure the self-contained beginner program for selected sixth-grade students who are at the high range of the beginner level. They will continue to receive two periods of ESOL daily and be mainstreamed in regular classes in mathematics, science, and social studies.
- In medium- and low-impact schools, implement a pilot alternative *push-in model* for selected intermediate and advanced students that provides ESOL support within the regular academic classroom. If this is successful, some additional staffing may be needed to expand its use.
- To avoid inappropriate initial placement of English Acquisition students within the mainstream at the middle school level, a variety of authentic assessments should be used to evaluate a student's potential. As part of the restructuring of the middle schools, alternative methods of placement and grouping will be considered, with particular attention to English Acquisition students.
- Assure training for ESOL teachers and reading specialists in literacy skills so they can address the literacy needs of entering second-language learners who do not read and write in any language.
- Provide inservice training and set up teacher networks in the following areas for teachers throughout the year: cooperative learning, adaptation of curriculum, authentic assessment, cultural diversity, flexible grouping, reading workshop, strategies to reach multiple intelligences, and teaching basic literacy skills.
- Provide adequate staffing to permit joint planning time and allow for access to team meetings so that the English Acquisition teachers can discuss strategies and specific student needs with regular academic teachers.

20. What are the strengths and weaknesses of the high school program?

Strengths of the high school program:

- All English Acquisition Program students are in regular homerooms and are in regular courses outside of the core subjects.
- Grade point averages of high school TEP students (academic track) who exit the program are average to good (2.6 GPA [June 1996]).
- Many high school senior level TEP students (academic track) go on to success at four-year institutions such as Pennsylvania State University, University of Southern California, Rutgers University, and Allentown College.
- Parents of students in the English Acquisition Program at Liberty High School responded to the survey with a very high level of support for the English Acquisition Program.
- High school students responded that learning with the ESOL teacher and talking to friends who speak English helped the most in learning English.
- Forty-four percent of Liberty High School teachers reported that after-school tutors are used to support students learning English.
- Thirty percent of Liberty High School teachers reported being trained in cooperative learning and flexible grouping, techniques very supportive of students learning English.

Weaknesses of the high school program:

- Constant influx of new students and frequent student withdrawals, due to the high rates of transiency, make it difficult to monitor students and serve individual student needs.
- No department chair in the English Acquisition Program is available to visit classes, oversee curriculum writing, or monitor student progress. All teachers in this department teach six periods daily and spend one period daily in the English Acquisition Resource Room.
- Because high school teachers in the regular program do not know who is in or has exited from the English Acquisition Program or the level of their academic or English proficiency skills, they are limited in their ability to offer help or support to these students or to implement appropriate strategies.
- Achievement test average percentile scores are very low in reading and mathematics for both exited and advanced level high school students. Standardized tests are often totally new to these students. Lack of time may also be a major reason; exited students can perform well but need extra time to read and respond to questions in English.
- Grade point averages of former EAP high school students (vocational/business track) who exit the program are low (2.023 GPA [June 1996]).
- Although 37 percent of Liberty High School teachers indicated on the survey that computers were used to support students learning English, other

techniques, such as adapting assessment, reading workshop, writing workshop, curriculum adaptation, and collaborative teaching, were not listed by the majority of teachers responding (27 Liberty High School teachers responded).

Recommendations for the high school program:

To improve the program at the high school level, the team recommends the following:

- Revise the English language curriculum (business and vocational track) during 1996–97 school year to a *school to work* transition model in an attempt to provide motivation and goal setting. Modify the vocational-technical program, increase the business curriculum offered, and provide *English for specific purposes* instruction related to job experiences.
- Develop and implement a program that will enable TEP2 (intermediate level of proficiency) students, who are at a lower linguistic competency level, to enter and to succeed in mainstream subjects, i.e., science and social studies.
- Revitalize and restructure the mentor program, both for the academically bound students and the vocational students. In addition, the mentoring program needs to include the newly exited students, at least through their first year in mainstream classes.
- Establish ongoing contact between regular program teachers and teachers in the English Acquisition Program, both for students still in the program and newly exited students, and for staff to exchange information and teaching strategies.
- Provide each Liberty and Freedom High School teacher and administrator with a list of English Acquisition students, including those who exited the program.
- Provide high school teachers with a series of inservice sessions/workshops to improve mastery of teaching strategies.
- Appoint a department chair for the English Acquisition Program at the high school level to carry out the improvements mentioned above and to perform other necessary duties, such as teacher supervision, student scheduling, and mentor program coordination.

A task force of administrators and teachers at Liberty High School will address these recommendations and develop an action plan. The plans will be reviewed in April 1997 and steps taken toward implementation.

CONCLUSION

After three years of implementation, the English Acquisition program is very well accepted by parents and staff. Parent and teacher acceptance is highest in the elementary schools, where the most fundamental change was made from the former Spanish/English bilingual program to a program of English instruction. Two-thirds of the second-language learners in the district attend school at the elementary school level. Average percentile scores on standardized tests in reading and mathematics for limited-English students who have reached the advanced level in English are within the average range in grades 1 through 6.

At the elementary school level, the greatest success is achieved with a "push-in" or integrated model, where the ESOL teacher and the regular classroom teacher work together in the regular classroom setting. The content and focus of the reading and writing classes are the same for native speakers and English language learners, but the materials may be at an easier level for the student acquiring English.

No longer are limited-English students bused from their neighborhood schools, at a substantial cost to the district, for the dubious benefit of having all Spanish speakers grouped together, as was the practice before 1993. Instead, students attend their neighborhood schools and are integrated with their English-speaking classmates for the added opportunity of informal English language experience.

At the middle school level, some modifications are needed in order to move more English language learners into regular classroom courses with support from an ESOL teacher.

At the high school level, the greatest need is to develop an improved program for the student who is in the vocational or business track. Some of these students have had a history of poor school attendance and have little or no literacy in their home language. The district is exploring a *school to work model*, providing a workplace experience and academic classes using *English for specific purposes*.

A strong need for sustained staff development was voiced at all levels. This training, as noted by many teachers in their responses to the Bethlehem survey, will improve instruction for *all students*.

At the end of three years, the Bethlehem Area School District's English Acquisition Program has completed a thorough, detailed evaluation of what it is doing for limited-English students. From this preliminary assessment, there are distinct signs of improved student progress, high levels of parental satisfaction, and reasonable support of teaching staff. An honest review of the areas that need modification and improvement rounds out the picture of the English Acquisition Program on its third birthday. Continuation of this longitudinal study will yield significant data when it is reviewed once again two years hence.

The Cost of Bilingual Education: Updating a National Study

Terry Graham

The U.S. English Foundation recently published the latest available figures on the cost of bilingual education in a research report entitled *Bilingual Education in the United States: 1993–94 Update.* This study updates the information originally published by the American Legislative Exchange Council and U.S. English, *Report Card on American Education 1994,* reviewed in the Fall 1995 *READ Perspectives,* Vol. II–2, pp. 37–50. The original study, which covered the 1991–92 school year, provided an overview of limited-English proficient (LEP) students in U.S. schools, including which states have the heaviest enrollments, what special programs serve these students' needs, and how much money is spent on these efforts.

Major Findings

The 1993–94 update notes that:

- In School Year 1993–94, a *minimum* of $12.6 billion was spent on LEP students, with 63 percent spent on bilingual programs, 27.8 percent on English as a Second Language (ESL), and 8.5 percent on "unknown" types of programs.
- It is still difficult to quantify federal, state and local monies spent on language development programs for limited-English students because of inconsistencies in definitions, funding sources, reporting procedures and requirements, and a general lack of standardized assessment tools.
- There is still no conclusive evidence that bilingual programs (emphasizing native language instruction) are superior to English as a Second Language programs (focusing on the early and intensive teaching of English), although advocates of programs using native languages continue to make such claims.
- Socioeconomic status is positively correlated with rapid acquisition of a second language (English); that is, the level of education attained by the parents of limited-English students has a decided effect on the length of time needed to learn a second language for academic purposes.

A chart included in the report details how many LEP students are in each state, and details enrollment in and funding for bilingual versus ESL programs.

DEFINING LIMITED-ENGLISH PROFICIENCY

There is no nationally agreed on definition of what is meant by the term "Limited-English Proficient." For purposes of this study, limited-English students are described in this manner: (1) born outside of the U.S. or whose native language is not English, (2) from an environment in which a language other than English is dominant, or (3) an American Indian or Alaskan Native, whose English skills have been affected by another language.

The lack of consistent standards or reliable tests for determining which students are not able to do regular classroom work in English is duly noted in this study. The identification of LEP students, then, is not uniform: thus a student labeled LEP in one state may be classified differently in another state. In fact, different definitions of LEP are used by school districts within the same state.

TYPES OF PROGRAMS SERVING LEP STUDENTS

The U.S. English report identifies three main approaches to instruction for LEP students:

(1) Transitional Bilingual Education (TBE), which uses the student's native language while acquiring second language competence. School subjects are taught in the student's native language so that the student learns the subject matter, and progresses through the grades while he/she gradually learns English. Students in TBE programs are segregated from English-speaking peers most of the school day. Teachers must be fluent in the student's home language and English; textbooks and teaching materials must be available in the native language and in English.

(2) Developmental Bilingual Education (DBE) teaches English and non-English speakers together, allowing both groups to learn in two languages. This program requires bilingual teachers, with textbooks and collateral materials in two languages.

(3) English as a Second Language programs, in which students focus intensively on learning to speak, read, and write in English, using a special curriculum that teaches school subjects and English language at the same time. Native language use is limited to social adjustment and parent-school communications. LEP students join regular classes with English speaking students for part of the day. ESL programs do not require teachers to speak a language other than English. Course materials are printed in English.

Since twenty-four of the nation's twenty-five largest metropolitan areas report that *at least ten languages other than English are spoken by students in these districts*, Transitional Bilingual Education and Developmental Bilingual Education would require as many distinct education tracks as there are language groups. Finding qualified bilingual teachers and textbooks printed in the various languages spoken by students is not just difficult but impossible. Acknowledging this, the report states that "the ethnic diversity found in many communities creates the need for flexibility in the choice of methodology at the local school district."

This begs the question as to why a district must offer "bilingual" approaches at all, since the paper repeatedly notes the lack of data supporting their superiority to alternative English teaching techniques. Further, English language programs do not require hard-to-find qualified bilingual teachers or textbooks in various languages, nor do they demand that students learn to read and write in two languages, thereby making ESL programs more cost-effective and easier to implement than native-language based bilingual programs. The report does address these issues.

DEMOGRAPHICS OF LEP STUDENTS

U.S. English reports that in the school year 1993–94, approximately three million public school students were labeled LEP. Of these, 82.4 percent were in special programs.

Ten states have 86 percent of the nation's LEP students: California (1.2 million), Texas (422,677), New York (216,448), Florida (144, 731), Illinois (99,637), Arizona (95,011), New Mexico (79,829), New Jersey (53,161), Michigan (45,163), and Massachusetts (44,094).

Hispanics and Asians comprise the vast majority of LEP students, although the report does not provide numbers of these students in the population. Among Asians, the largest language groups are Pilipino (20 percent), Chinese dialects (17 percent), Southeast Asian languages (13 percent), and any number of other languages with smaller numbers of speakers. Hispanics from 35 different countries of origin share the same native language. The report fails to note that as many as 58 percent of the students labeled "LEP" are U.S. born.

Interestingly, the families of 75 percent of the Asian students consider themselves bilingual, with low proficiency in their "native" language. Hispanics, like their Asian counterparts, also rate their English proficiency as high and their "home language" as low. These findings seem to contradict the very

definition of LEP students (see numbers 1 and 2 above), which emphasizes that a language other than English is the dominant language of LEP students. This apparent contradiction, which seems to reveal that the majority of LEP students come from families that are more fluent in English than in their so-called native language, is not noted in the report.

EXPENDITURES

As was the case in 1991–92, most funding for public elementary and secondary schools comes from the state and local government (93 percent), with the balance provided by federal sources. Local funding sources vary dramatically. For example, the State of Hawaii funds 91.7 percent of public school budgets, while New Hampshire's schools receive 88.7 percent from local funding sources. Often, state and local funds allocated to bilingual programs are difficult to track due to inconsistent reporting procedures. In addition to state and local funding sources, federal Title VII funding distributes $120 million via grants to school districts to develop new programs for LEP students. These grants, which are to "supplement not supplant" state and local funding, are administered by the U.S. Department of Education's Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Affairs (OBLEMLA).

The report notes that the U.S. Supreme Court's landmark decision affecting limited-English students, *Lau v. Nichols*, did not mandate bilingual education, but rather held that LEP students must be provided equal educational opportunities, giving broad discretion to schools as to the approach to be adopted. Nevertheless, in Fiscal Years 1991 and 1992, the Department of Education funded native-language programs versus ESL programs by a factor of 4:1 and 3:1 respectively ($79,326,000 and $84,031,000 versus $21,706,000 and $32,125,000). There is no explanation for the relative increase in funding for ESL programs in 1992.

It is estimated that $15 billion is currently (School Year 1994–95) spent on educating LEP students, projected to exceed $18 billion for 1995–96. This figure was derived by calculating average daily attendance spending for 1993–94, multiplied by the number of LEP students in each type of program, with projected increases in the number of students.

Currently, there is no federal reporting requirement for states or for local districts to account for their spending on limited-English students. The report cites the *Summary of State Educational Agency Program Survey of States' Limited English Proficient Persons and Available Education Services 1993–94*, produced for the Department of Education under contract by the Special Issues Analy-

sis Center (SIAC), which quantifies the number of LEP students nationwide by state. (All states except Pennsylvania, Virginia, and West Virginia applied for a $75,000 grant from the USDOE to gather these data.)

NUMBER OF LEP STUDENTS IN BILINGUAL VERSUS ESL PROGRAMS

Certainly the most valuable information in this report appears in a table showing the total number of LEP students in each state, how many are in "bilingual," "ESL," or "Unknown" programs, and what the total state and local expenditures are for each program, as closely as they can be estimated. Table 1, reproduced at the end of this review, presents the *minimum* cost of public education for LEP students for 1993–94, but does not include costs of other special programs that may be required by these students.

Two hundred thousand LEP students are enrolled in programs under the "Unknown" category, suggesting that confusion in data collection and inconsistent program definitions may be in part to blame. In 1993–94, 486,801 of the nation's LEP students were in no specially designed programs of instruction. The report does not speculate as to why these students were not receiving any special help or whether their parents may have chosen not to enroll them in bilingual classrooms.

CONCLUSION

With more than twice as many LEP students enrolled in bilingual as compared with ESL programs, and with $15 billion spent in 1993–94 on educating these students, the question is: Are Americans getting value for their education dollars? No studies demonstrate that bilingual programs are superior to ESL programs, and Hispanic students who make up 60 percent of the students in bilingual programs continue to have the highest dropout rate of any group of students in the U.S.

The strong recommendation in this report is that expenditures on bilingual and ESL programs be tracked at the local and state level, reported to a central agency, and correlated with the results of these programs, i.e., in academic achievement of students, high school graduation rates, decrease in dropouts. There is no way of knowing, from the information available at this time, if too much or too little is spent on limited-English students. But it is undeniably clear that a great deal of money is spent with no real fiscal accountability. One cannot calculate precise expenditures or link them to benefits of one type of program. "This failure is itself a significant indictment of the management of bilingual and ESL programs throughout the states," is the final judgment of the study.

Bilingual Education in the United States, 1993–94

Table 1

Number of Limited English Proficient Students and Expenditures by State—School Year 1993–94

State	Number of Students				State & Local Expenditures			
	Bilingual	ESL	Unknown	Total	Bilingual	ESL	Unknown	Total
Alabama	na	na	3,180	3,180	na	na	$13,057,080	$12,265,260
Alaska	2,887	2,787	7,711	13,385	$28,324,357	$27,343,257	75,652,621	131,320,235
Arizona	26,010	51,578	4,636	82,224	110,282,400	218,690,720	19,656,640	348,629,760
Arkansas	0	1,800	2,202	4,002	0	7,065,000	8,642,850	15,707,850
California	717,394	175,076	0	892,470	3,404,034,530	830,735,620	0	4,234,770,150
Colorado	7,993	13,069	0	21,062	40,604,440	66,390,520	0	106,994,960
Connecticut	12,893	920	13,813	109,177,924	0	7,790,560	116,968,484	
Delaware	442	598	100	1,140	2,985,268	4,038,892	675,400	7,699,560
D. C.	na	na	4,345	4,345	na	na	37,015,055	37,015,055
Florida	na	144,731	0	144,731	na	798,336,196	0	798,336,196
Georgia	na	na	8,540	8,540	na	na	40,872,440	40,872,440
Hawaii	6,624	4,997	0	11,621	39,896,352	30,096,931	0	69,993,283
Idaho	0	5,642	0	5,642	0	22,223,838	0	22,223,838
Illinois	76,926	22,252	0	99,178	409,400,172	118,425,144	0	527,825,316
Indiana	295	1,073	916	2,284	1,690,350	6,148,290	5,248,680	13,087,320
Iowa	0	3,564	1,050	4,614	0	19,277,676	5,679,450	24,957,126
Kansas	415	5,151	1,031	6,597	2,348,485	29,149,509	5,834,429	37,332,423
Kentucky	251	1,159	269	1,679	1,313,985	6,067,365	1,408,215	8,789,565
Louisiana	0	356	5,374	5,730	0	1,573,520	23,753,080	25,326,600
Maine	3	30	1,444	1,477	18,282	182,820	8,799,736	9,000,838
Maryland	42	10,056	3,853	13,951	274,302	65,675,736	25,163,943	91,113,981
Massachusetts	38,285	0	0	38,285	264,089,930	0	0	264,089,930
Michigan	22,467	0	697	23,164	146,889,246	0	4,556,986	151,446,232
Minnesota	3,210	14,076	0	17,286	18,656,520	81,809,712	0	100,466,232
Mississippi	89	231	761	1,081	326,185	846,615	2,789,065	3,961,865
Missouri	0	1,437	876	2,313	0	6,775,455	4,130,340	10,905,795

Table 1 (continued)

Montana	368	125	2,929	3,422	2,060,064	699,750	16,396,542	19,156,356
Nebraska	192	866	1,909	2,967	982,848	4,433,054	9,772,171	15,188,073
Nevada	3,289	2,993	7,631	13,913	16,415,399	14,938,063	38,086,321	69,439,783
New Hampshire	0	502	271	773	0	3,010,494	1,625,187	4,635,681
New Jersey	39,970	8,935	765	49,670	387,709,000	86,669,500	7,420,500	481,799,000
New Mexico	45,311	465	18,816	64,592	225,648,780	2,315,700	93,703,680	321,668,160
New York	180,509	0	0	180,509	1,657,072,620	0	0	1,657,072,620
North Carolina	0	4,116	4,111	8,227	0	20,938,092	20,912,657	41,850,749
North Dakota	0	400	2,044	2,444	0	1,794,000	9,167,340	10,961,340
Ohio	3,703	3,612	2,021	9,336	20,496,105	19,992,420	11,186,235	51,674,760
Oklahoma	2,029	3,373	14,932	20,334	8,430,495	14,014,815	62,042,460	84,487,770
Oregon	250	19,401	0	19,651	1,515,750	117,628,263	0	119,144,013
Pennsylvania	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na
Rhode Island	1,372	6,462	245	8,079	9,885,260	46,558,710	1,765,225	58,209,195
South Carolina	9	1,348	425	1,782	43,452	6,508,144	2,051,900	8,603,496
South Dakota	13	3	2,218	2,234	59,735	13,785	10,191,710	10,265,230
Tennessee	na	na	3,136	3,136	na	na	13,541,248	13,541,248
Texas	206,693	155,815	34,209	396,717	1,100,226,839	829,403,245	182,094,507	2,111,724,591
Utah	6,180	0	12,699	18,879	21,494,040	0	44,167,122	65,661,162
Vermont	0	496	0	496	0	3,577,152	0	3,577,152
Virginia	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na
Washington	na	na	28,363	28,363	na	na	160,619,669	160,619,669
West Virginia	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na
Wisconsin	na	na	13,953	13,953	na	na	93,610,677	93,610,677
Wyoming	0	75	675	750	0	442,425	3,981,825	4,424,250
TOTAL U.S.	1,406,114	668,650	199,257	2,274,021	$8,032,353,115	$3,513,790,428	$1,073,063,546	$12,618,415,269

Source: Bilingual Education in the United States, 1993–94 Update

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Erratum

In Table 8 of "The Languages of the United States: What Is Spoken and What It Means" by Barry R. Chiswick and Paul W. Miller (*Read Perspectives* III-2 [Fall 1996]), the "Fraction Females 25–64 in Labor Force" who speak "Other Languages" at home should read 0.63 rather than 0.74 (*1990 Census of Population and Housing, Public Use Microdata Sample, Technical Documentation,* Washington DC: U.S. Government Printing Office [1993]).

About the Authors

CHARLES GLENN is a professor and the Chairman of Administration, Training and Policy Studies at the Boston University School of Education, and was previously in charge of civil rights and urban education for the state of Massachusetts for twenty-one years. His *Educating Immigrant Children: Schools and Language Minorities in 12 Nations* (with Ester J. De Jong) was published by Garland in 1996; he is also the author of *The Myth of the Common School* (1988), *Choice of Schools in Six Nations* (1989), and *Educational Freedom in Eastern Europe* (1994, 1995). Five of Glenn's children have attended the Rafael Hernandez Bilingual School in Boston, and he was Massachusetts' first director of bilingual education.

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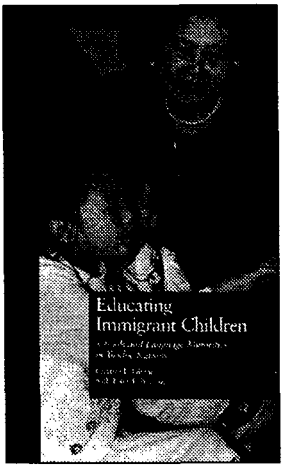

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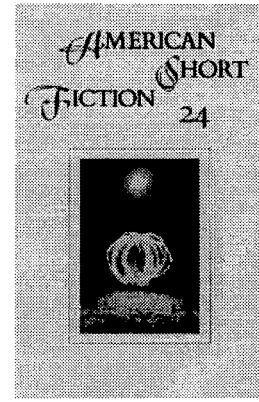

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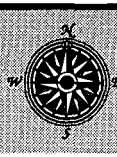

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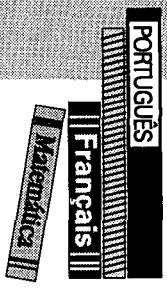

Bilingual Education in Massachusetts: The Emperor Has No Clothes

By **Christine H. Rossell**, Professor of Political Science at Boston University, and **Keith Baker**, social science research consultant

Massachusetts is one of only nine states in the country to require bilingual education in all school districts where there is a sufficient number of limited-English-proficient (LEP) students. Moreover, Massachusetts has set the lowest threshold for mandatory bilingual education in the country: 20 LEP students in a single language group in a district—an average of fewer than 2 students in each grade—triggers native tongue instruction in a separate classroom taught by a bilingual certified teacher. In total, almost 40,000 students in 51 Massachusetts districts were enrolled in bilingual education programs in 1993-94. Nevertheless, observations of actual classroom practice demonstrate that these students are not all receiving the same style of education. As a general rule, only Spanish-speaking students—who comprise more than half of the LEP population in the Commonwealth—are taught to read and write in their native language, while also receiving some native language instruction in other academic subjects, as existing law requires. Students from virtually all other language groups, though enrolled in "bilingual education," receive instruction almost exclusively in English, with at most a few hours per week of enrichment in their native languages and cultures.

Twenty-five years after passage of the bilingual education law in Massachusetts, there is still no proof that the mandated approach to teaching works better than other approaches, such as intensive English instruction. Not only is there no proof from Massachusetts, but there is none from the many studies that have been conducted in other states. Indeed, if one can draw any conclusion at all from the research it is that teaching a LEP student to read and write in the native language is at least marginally detrimental to his or her overall education and acquisition of English.

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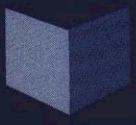

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